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VARIATIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF THE JAPANESE RELIGIOUS FOLK BALLAD, *SANSHŌ-DAYU*, OR "PRINCESS ANJYU AND PRINCE ZUSHIŌ" (1): THE NARRATIVE TRADITION KEPT BY VISUALLY IMPAIRED MINSTRELS

KEIKO WELLS

SYNOPSIS

The Japanese religious folk ballad, *Sanshō-Dayu* 『山椒大夫』 ("Sanshō, the Bailiff" or "Princess Anjyu and Prince Zushiō"), is a combination of two legends, one of a young princess and another of her brother. The princess sacrifices her life for her brother, while the prince endures trials to become a man of status. It is a religious story, and describes the origin of the Kanayaki Jizō Bodhisatva statue. Older versions are miracle tales, in which the tortured princess dies and becomes a Bodhisattva, or Buddhist Saint. Though no complete original text remains, it is said that the ballad appeared in the 14th century. It belongs to a genre called *Sekkyō-bushi*, which was sung and chanted by traveling singers, who were almost always visually impaired. *Sekkyō-bushi* became popular in medieval Japan and has been passed down as a form of traditional religious entertainment, especially in rural areas. During the 17th and 18th centuries, *Sanshō-Dayu* was arranged in folk drama forms such as *Gidayu* (a chanted theatrical narrative) or *Ningyō jōruri* (puppet plays) and *Kabuki* (classical dance-drama). The performance versions flourished especially in urban areas. After Japan opened cultural communication with the West in the late 19th century, the story incorporated new values and became part of modern culture. The most famous versions are a novella by Ōgai Mori (1915), and the classic film by Kenji Mizoguchi (1954). This paper examines the evolution of *Sanshō-Dayu's* many variations, and analyzes commonalities and differences to clarify the story's history and legacy. The history of *Sanshō-Dayu* variations provides a fascinating case study of how a folk narrative can survive centuries, while evolving along with changes in society, economy and media. This paper consists of two sections: Part One, "The Narrative Tradition Kept by Visually Impaired People"; Part Two, "The Dramatic Tradition in the Puppet Show, Modern Fiction and Film". Both sections focus on how the heroine and hero are depicted while

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using Buddhist folklore effectively for character development. The heroine, Anjyu, is a sacrificial lamb, a virgin mother to her brother Zushiō, and a symbol of compassion. Zushiō, a traditional hero of a male-dominant feudal society, becomes an orphan, wanders in the wilderness, and finally finds restitution by virtue of his courage and divine intervention. The narrative tradition emphasizes the more mythical story of Anjyu, while the theatrical tradition is more interested in the adventures and human drama of Zushiō's tale. In conclusion, after close examination of adaptations and changes in the Sanshō-Dayu ballad, this paper attempts to explore Japanese religious sentiments and gender value matrices as well as the nature of narrative traditions in Japan.

Keywords: Japanese literature, Japanese culture, Oral literature, Narrative performance, Religious narrative, Religious literature, Buddhist folklore, Visually impaired singers, Transformation of narrative text, Sanshō-Dayu, Sekkyō-bushi, Ningyō-joruri, Goze-uta, Itako-saimon, Mori Ōgai, Mizoguchi Kenji.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Japanese narrative story cycle *Sanshō-Dayu* (hereafter *SD*) or *Princess Anjyu and Prince Zushiō* is primarily known outside of Japan as *Sanshō the Bailiff* via the 1954 film of the same title by Kenji Mizoguchi[1]. The origins of this long legend/ballad are not certain. According to Shigeru Araki[2], the same style of chanted narrative was already popular by the 14th century. Troubadours performed it for commoners in towns and villages, consequently spreading it throughout Japan.

By the 17th century, regional variations of the legend had developed into sophisticated professional performances in multiple art forms. Nobuyuki Sakakō's research explores versions of the *SD* cycle taken from three rural regions[3]. The first is from Tsugaru, the northernmost part of Japan's main island. There the story became a nature goddess myth, chanted by blind female spirit mediums. The second variation is from northwestern Sado Island, on the Japan Sea, and from the Tango region, on the northern coast of the Kyōto prefecture. This version is more sophisticated, with complex plot and character development. The third is from Echigo, a commercial port region north of Tango. Blind balladeers kept the narrative tradition longer there than anywhere else in Japan, and *SD* was a major piece of their repertoire.

[1] *Sanshō the Bailiff* (1954) directed by Kenji Mizoguchi, from Daiei Production. I will analyze this film in my next article: *Variations and Interpretations of the Japanese Folk Religious Ballad, Sanshō-Dayu, or "Princess Anju and Prince Zushiō" (2).*

[2] Araki 1973, 2009: 315 (解説・解題 [Explanatory Notes]).

[3] Sakakō 1992.

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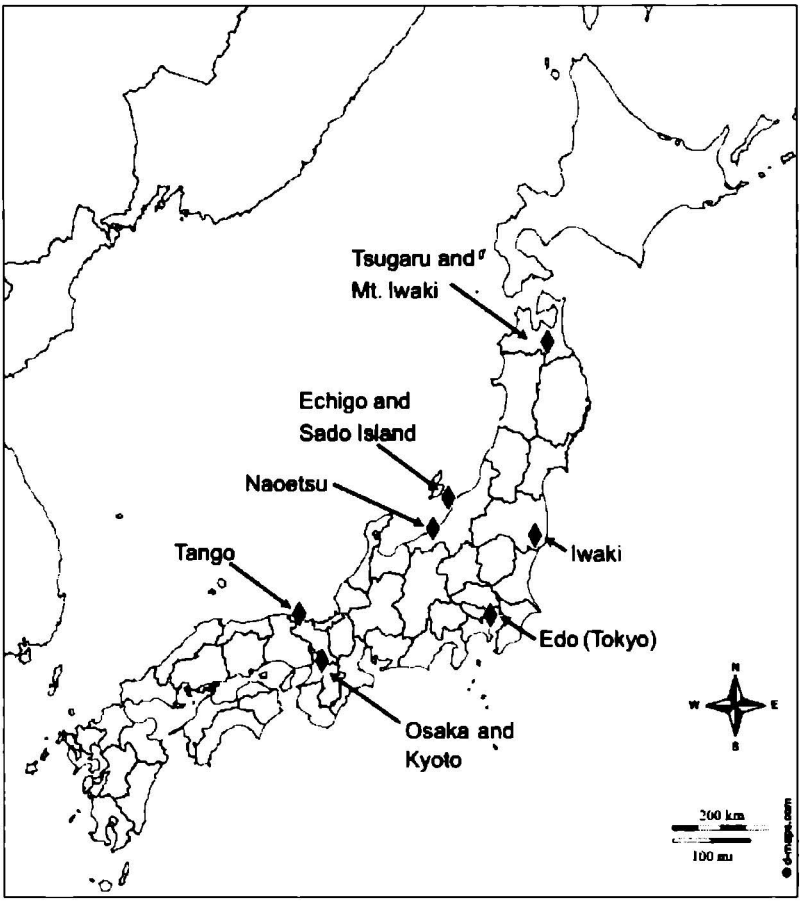

In addition to these single-person or small-group chanting traditions, there were theatrical forms that developed in urban areas. These began as puppet shows and eventually evolved into Kabuki theatre. The puppet shows first appeared in the 17th century, and developed particularly in two heavily populated areas. One was the Ōsaka-Kyōto area. Ōsaka was (and still is) Japan's primary commercial city, while Kyōto was the country's capital from the 8th to 19th centuries, making it the traditional cultural center of both aristocrats and common citizens. Ōsaka and Kyōto are only 50 km apart, and were connected mainly by the Yodo River until train transportation was established. The other major urban center was Edo, located in eastern Japan. It became the seat of central government in 1603, and has flourished ever since as a locus of vigorous new culture. Edo was renamed Tōkyo after the Meiji revolution in 1868 and became the cosmopolitan cultural meeting point between the aristocratic culture of Ōsaka-Kyōto of the west and the rural, unrefined culture of the east. The *SD* narrative was reinvented in these urban districts of Ōsaka-Kyōto and Edo (Tōkyo) to attract urban merchants and artisans.

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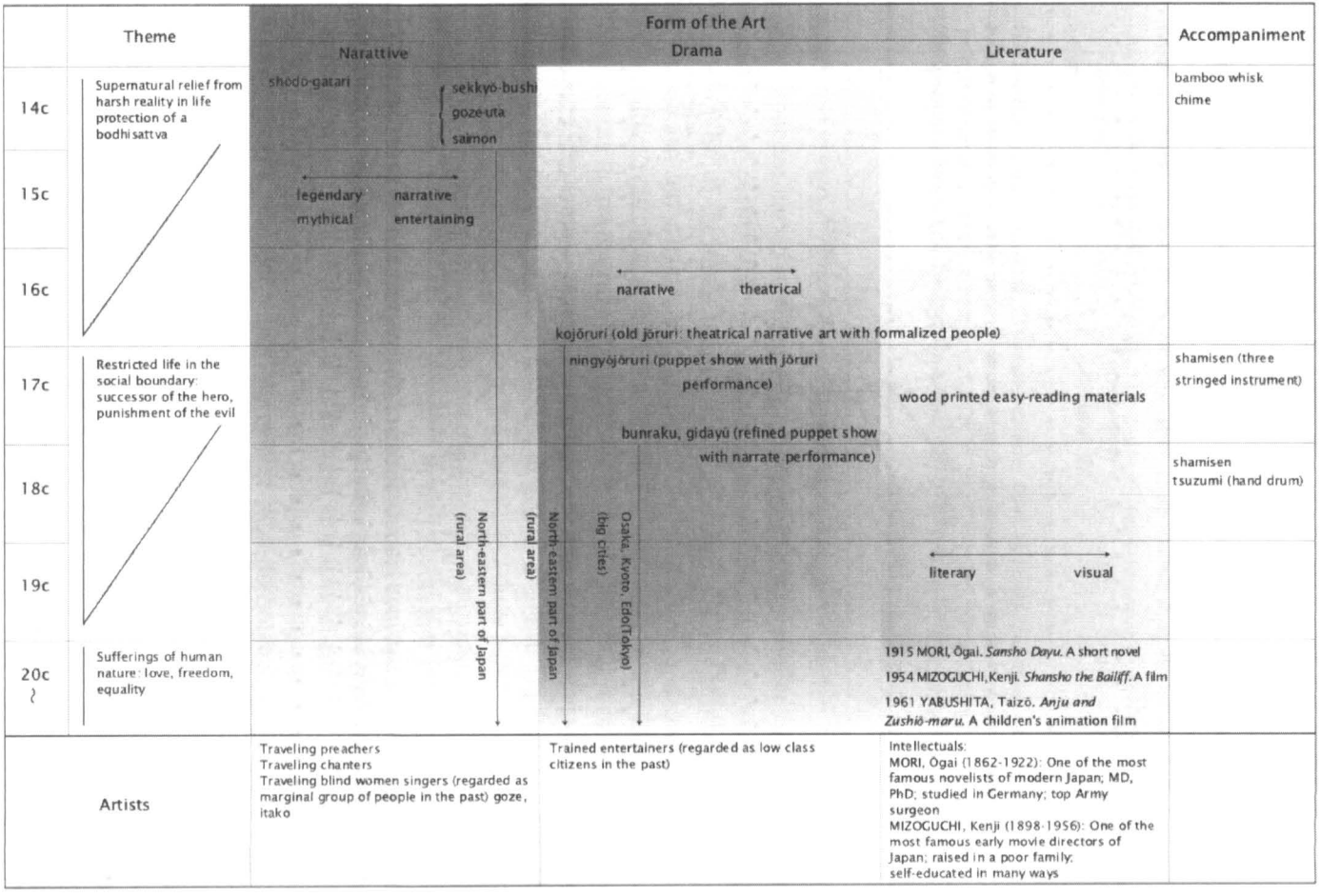
The Cycle of Sansho-Dayu Ballad



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I would like to discuss in this paper that the history of *SD* variations provides a good case study of a folk narrative that survives through centuries and its evolution with changes in society, economy and media. Broadly speaking, the legend became widely known during the medieval period as a religious narrative performed by street minstrels. It then branched out into three directions and evolved in three different ways[4]. First, it continued as traveling chanters' verbal performances and simple musical accompaniment, with religious and ritual significance especially in rural areas. Second, the *SD* plot line offered scenarios for puppet shows and other drama forms that flourished in the urban centers discussed above. Third, the narrative was retold and printed in picture booklets or other entertaining reading materials. These three artistic directions developed simultaneously during the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, so that they influenced each other and enriched the larger body of the *SD* cycle. And, as mentioned earlier, the story survives in films and modern literature of the 20th century Japan.

What elements, then, of the *SD* ballad persisted throughout so many different art forms and expressions while being washed in the changes of the times? What intrinsic Japanese sentiments and values are expressed in the narrative? What universal human emotions grab audiences regardless of cultural differences? What, if any, common themes does this Japanese narrative art share with its European counterparts and what differences can be marked?

2. THE STORY AND ANALYSIS

TEXT

SD narratives were first recorded as written texts in the 17th century. As there is no complete original text preserved from that time, Shigeru Araki created one for contemporary Japanese readers in 1973 by integrating the missing sections from other reliable texts. Using the 1639 text *Sanshō-Dayu* (天下一説与七郎正本『さんせう太夫』) as his base, he filled in the incomplete parts from another text, *Eiri Sanshō-Dayu Monogatari* (鶴屋喜右衛門板草子『絵入さんせう太夫物語』 *The Story of Sanshō-Dayu with illustrations*), which was purportedly published in the late 17th century. According to Araki, the present text is the best reconstruction of the 17th century popular narrative possible. My explanation of the story below is based on the Araki text.

The story consists of two parts: the story of the heroine, Anjyu, and the subsequent story of the hero, Zushiō. The first part depicts Anjyu's ordeals and death, and the latter part describes Zushiō's trials and tribulations in restoring his father's honor and estate. There is a brief telling of their mother's fate embedded in the

[4] Araki 2009: iii (まえがき [Foreword]).

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beginning of the Anjyu narrative. One can easily assume that the tale of Anjyu is older, because the story of Zushiō does not exist in some regional variations. In addition, the story of Anjyu is more mythic and emotional and thus fundamentally about human nature, while the story of Zushiō is interwoven with the values of the early modern feudal age. The Anjyu myth has persisted from its beginnings to contemporary literature and film, while the tale of Zushiō has lent its major entertainment elements to theatrical versions and amusement reading materials of feudal period, the 17th–19th centuries. Both stories of Anjyu and of Zushiō are equally portioned and emphasized in the 17th century *SD* narrative version, which is what I analyze below.

INTRODUCTORY STORY: THE MOTHER'S FATE

Anjyu is the first child of Masauji, a feudal lord of northeastern Japan, who used to rule 54 counties of the Iwaki region. Her brother Zushiō is the son and heir. Masauji has been exiled on false charges to the farthest western part of the country, and his family forced to live in dishonor. Zushiō longs to see his father. One day, he suggests to his mother that they go to Kyōto to petition the royal court directly, insisting on Masauji's innocence and restoring their family. Inspired by his enthusiasm, his mother decides to travel nearly 700 kilometers on foot with her children. She is too sheltered to know what such a journey would be like. She takes only Uwataki, the nurse and maid, to serve them, and the four depart on March 17th.

One evening, they arrive at the port of Naoetsu, which is on the northwest coast of Japan's main island. Desperately looking for a place to spend the night, they are overjoyed by the kind words of a man who approaches them in friendly manner. They gladly accept an invitation to his house, but his wife warns them when he is not around that he has made living by kidnapping and selling people since he was seven years old. Early next morning, the hapless family of aristocrats is led to the port and tricked into boarding separate boats two by two: the children in one boat going to the west, and the mother and the nurse in another going to the north.

Though too late to evade the ruse, the mother calls her children while drifting away on the sea. Her last words to them are about the family treasures, which will protect them and bring luck when they are at the depths of despair.

> やあやあいかに姉弟よ。さて売られたとよ買われたぞ。命を庇え（大切にせよ）姉弟よ。またも御世には出ずまいか。姉が膚に掛けたるは、地蔵菩薩でありけるが、自然(万が一)姉弟身の上に、自然大事があるならば、身替りにも御立ちある、地蔵菩薩でありけるぞ。よきに信じて掛けさいよ。また弟が膚に掛けたるは、信太玉造の系図のもの、資して冥土へ行く折も、閻魔の前の土産にもなるとやれ。それ落とさいな厨子王丸。
>
> Oh, my daughter and my son, we all are sold and bought! Don't forget your life is precious, you, sister and brother. I pray you will one day return to a sunny place in life, but I'm afraid. Big sister has a Jizō Bodhisattva amulet kept next to her skin; the Jizō will stand by you, sister and brother, and take your places in times of crisis. Keep your faith and keep the Jizō around

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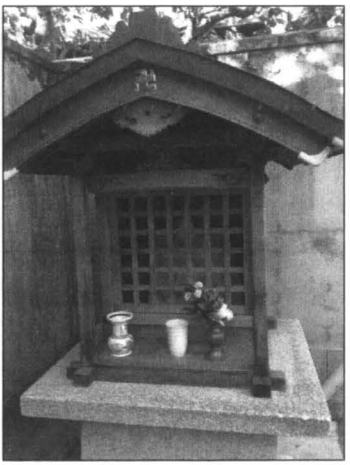
your neck. Little brother has the scroll of our family genealogy kept next to his skin. You may take it to the other world and give it to Enma, the Lord of the underworld. Don't lose it, Zushiō (Araki 8–9)[5].

[5] According to *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms*, Jizō means literally "Earth Repository" of bodhisattva, who saves suffering beings in the evil realms; he is especially popular as the savior of the souls of dead children (Inagaki 139). In *Sanshō-Dayu* and in Japanese colloquial usage, Jizō indicates both the abstract religious existence of bodhisattva and the statues or talismans of it. Jizō represents compassion especially for the weakest of society, and is believed to aid them during their life.



A Jizō shrine in the corner of street. A Jizō statue is stored in it (Kuramaguchi, Kyoto; photo by Wells, 2014)

A Jizō bodhisattva statue in the garden of Sanzenin Temple (Ohara, Kyoto. Photo from Sanzenin Temple Home Page).

A host of Jizō stone statues celebrated in a shrine. They wear red caps and red bibs as is often the case (Kamigamo, Kyoto. Photo by Wells, 2014).

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When Uwataki the nurse realizes she will be sold into slavery, she chants prayers with a rosary in her hand and jumps into the sea, saying,

> 賢臣二君に仕えず、てん女両夫に見えず、二張の弓は引くまい
> It is said a loyal servant should have but one master in life, and that a good woman marries not twice but only once to serve her husband. I will never draw a bow that has two strings (Araki 8-9).

Uwataki is the model of a loyal servant in feudal Japan. After this dramatic separation scene on the Naoetsu shore, the narrator briefly reports on the tragic future of the mother: shortly later she is sold to a northern island[6] where she loses her eyesight from crying so much with the grief of losing her children, and she is doomed to chase little birds away all day from the drying millet.

THE STORY OF ANJYU: HER ORDEAL AND DEATH

Anjyu, the older sister at fifteen years old, and Zushiō, the little brother of twelve, are now orphans. They are brought to Tango, a port to the north of Kyōto (the capital) about a hundred kilometers away with mountains and hills in between. They are sold to a man named Sanshō-Dayu. His occupation is not clearly stated, but he appears to be a lower class retainer who is the head overseer of slaves. When the two children arrive and meet Sanshō-Dayu, he asks their names. Anjyu refuses because their names would reveal their upper-class origin, and begs him to give them new names as servants instead. Accordingly, Sanshō-Dayu names her Shinobu, which is both a name of her homeland and a word that means, "to endure hardships." He names her brother Wasure-gusa, which means "grass (= a person) who forgets or that helps one forget." It is at this moment that Anjyu and Zushiō lose their identity and true standing in society.

Anjyu is ordered to bring seawater to a salt field on the shore, and Zushiō is to gather three big bunches of firewood from the mountain. Coming from an aristocratic background, they are too delicate to complete the work. The next day, the two children stand on the rocky shore, ready to dive into the sea to die. A young woman slave named Ko-hagi stops them and tells them to accept her as a big sister and be strong. Ko-hagi survives until the end of the story, and represents the maternal side of human nature.

Anjyu and Zushiō slowly master their work and survive to the end of the year. Sanshō-Dayu and his cruel son, Saburō (the name means "third born son"), hate the children because they are always fretful and sad. One day when they are alone, Anjyu tries to persuade Zushiō to run away, saying that he must declare the honor of their family to the world someday. Zushiō is afraid and refuses to flee alone. They argue, and unfortunately are overheard by Saburō. Outraged, he brands them with a burning iron and marks a cross on their faces. They are left to die on the shore covered by a heavy boat. Jirō, the compassionate second son of Sanshō-Dayu,

[6] In Araki text, the island is called "Ezo ga shima" (the Island of Ezo, the Island of north country). In later versions "Ezo ga shima" is identified with "Sado ga shima" (Sado Island).

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secretly brings a share of his own food to them and keeps them alive. Jirō is a male representative of the good side of human nature, in contrast to Saburō's evil character.

When the siblings are unexpectedly discovered alive after two weeks of abandonment, they must to go back to work. Anjyu has changed by this time. With firm determination hidden in her mind, she begs Sanshō-Dayu to send her to the mountain with her brother. Saburō consents because the mountain work is harder than the beach work. He cuts Anjyu's long hair to her ears, however, saying she must work like and look like a boy. Zushiō is heart stricken to see his beautiful sister lose her long black hair, the symbol of a woman's pride. Anjyu, on the other hand, is happy that she can stay with her brother. Along the way to the mountain, she leads him into a cave and takes out the Jizō amulet from her bosom and prays:

> 母上様の御諚には、自然姉弟が身の上に，もしや大事のあるときは、身替わりにも御立ちある、地蔵菩薩と御申しあるが、かくなり行けば、紙や仏の勇力も尽き果てて、お守りなきかよ悲しやな。
> My mother told us this Jizō will stand by us, sister and brother, to take our places in crisis, but now, it seems no god nor Buddha-Bodhisattva has courage to help us. Oh, why don't you protect us? What sorrow! (Araki 20-21).

At these words, Jizō miraculously transfers the burn scars from the children's faces to his own[7]. Anjyu implores Zushiō to escape, pointing out that he is no longer marked as a slave but has Jizō's protection instead. She goes so far as to say she will disown him as her brother if he does not obey. With these words, Zushiō finally rises to run away, and the two share a private parting ceremony, exchanging an imitation sake-cup made from an oak leaf filled with clear water from the mountain stream. She gives him directions and tells him where and with whom to seek help. Once an insecure girl of fifteen at the beginning of the story, Anjyu's will has grown strong. She plays a maternal role for her little brother and finally becomes a perfectly compassionate being, sacrificing her life for the one she loves. She shows unordinary spiritual strength and determination at their separation.

Once she is alone, Anjyu gathers brushwood and goes back to Sanshō-Dayu's residence. There is no explanation in the narrative text for why she goes back to awaiting danger, but her return buys Zushiō more time to run further. She knows he has a better chance going alone than with her. When she returns to the residence, Sanshō-Dayu has correctly surmised that she has let her brother escape, so he tells Saburō to extract Zushiō's whereabouts. Saburō tortures her brutally. He nearly boils her in hot water, suffocates her in cold water, and drills her knee with a sharp pick. Anjyu, however, does not give any information about Zushiō and says instead,

> 今にも弟が、山から戻り足るものならば，姉は弟ゆえに，責め殺されたと御申しあって、よきに御目をかけて、御使いあって給われの。

[7] In the legend of Tango, Jizō received the wound on its shoulder.

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> My brother will soon return from the mountain. Please tell him, when he comes, his big sister was tortured to death for him. Please favor him when you use him because I sacrifice myself for him (Araki 23).

This so enrages Saburō that he finally burns her to death in a fire.

The first section of the story is focused on the misery of women and children. The world is full of treachery and violence, and there are no trustworthy male characters except Jirō in this part of the narrative. Their father, Masauji, is mentioned only once and is in fact lost to his family, so he cannot contribute to their welfare. Initially we see the story of the mother and her maid, and how helpless they are when thrown into the evil of the world. After the children are separated from the adults, Anjyu becomes the protagonist of the story. She cares for her brother and protects him at the cost of her own life. She compels him to escape and live because he is the heir of the family and must restore their honor and noble blood. These motivations align with the cultural values of the feudal period. Anjyu does, however, also act for the sake of her own value as well. She persistents in seeking freedom and never lets herself become a slave in spirit. This is why Saburō and Sanshō-Dayu hate her more and more as the story progresses. Her firm resistance in the torture scene emphasizes the cruel nature of men. Her innocence and noble pride contrast sharply with the base character of the people in power.

THE STORY OF ZUSHIŌ: NARROW ESCAPE TO VICTORY

The latter part of the story is rich with Japanese Buddhist folklore and episodes that illuminate the social values of the times. This part was presumably added to or later developed from the story of Anjyu, which most likely originates in the earlier part of the 14th century. Zushiō's tale is one of a hero's progress. A boy of noble origin becomes physically handicapped, thrown into severe poverty among socially invisible people, but turns the wheel of fate with his virtue and the power of family treasures, which his mother entrusted to him and his sister when they parted at sea.

After he leaves his sister, Zushiō takes refuge in a parish temple. A monk hides him in a solid bamboo basket box and hangs it from a ceiling beam with a rope. When Saburō, Sanshō-Dayu, Tarō (Sanshō-Dayu's eldest son) come with soldiers, the monk says he knows nothing. Saburō then demands that the monk swear an oath, or else hand Zushiō back to his slave master. Though the monk is agitated, he pretends not to know where Zushiō is, wondering if he dare tell a lie rather than let the life of the young boy be terminated so cruelly. In deciding to protect Zushiō from Saburō's evil intent, the monk accepts eventual punishment in Buddhist hell. This scene might remind English-language readers of Mark Twain's *The Adventure of Huckleberry Finn.* Faced with the dilemma of whether or not to report the runaway slave Jim to his owner Miss Watson, Huck decides to help Jim escape from the South. Huck knows he is breaking the law and acting against the rules of the society, but says to himself, "All right, then, I'll go to Hell." This is a crucial moment when Huck chooses to trust his own instinct of justice. So does the monk, when he acts according to his natural conscience.

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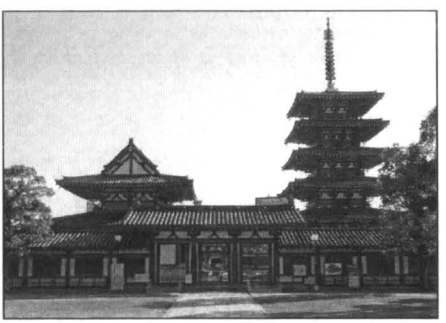
Unfortunately Saburō is no fool and he notices the rope that hangs the basket box is new while the basket is old. He watches it closely, noticing slight, unnatural movements and suspects Zushiō is inside. Though Tarō stops Saburō, Saburō savagely cuts the rope and opens the box. At this moment, the Jizō amulet, which Zushiō has kept with him, glows wondrously and its bright light knocks Saburō out. Tarō closes the box, hangs it from the ceiling beam again, and takes Saburō on his shoulder to lead him back home. With the antagonists gone, the monk pulls down the box, opening it to see the Jizō still blazing around Zushiō's neck. The boy then reveals his noble origins and what has happened since he left home. He asks the monk to show him the way to Kyōto. At this, the monk decides to take him to Kyōto secretly, as it would be impossible for a runaway slave to travel safely such a long way. He puts back the boy in the basket box, covers the box with old garments, and, carrying it on his back, heads to the capital city on foot. When he is asked what he has that is so big and heavy on his back, he answers he carries a Kanayaki-Jizō (iron burned Jizō), which needs to be cleaned and painted by a Buddha statue artist in Kyōto. Here, Zushiō is identified with Jizō, clearly implying his heroic destiny. The audience knows he has been ordained by destiny to be a hero.

When the monk finally reaches in Kyōto, he leaves Zushiō in the field of Shujyakagongedo 朱雀権現堂, on the capital's Seventh Avenue. Having been squeezed in the box so long, Zushiō is now lame and cannot even stand. Neighborhood children provide him with food for a day or two but cannot manage more. He is loaded on a *tsuchiguruma*[8] 土車, a cart for dirt or dirty things, and is passed from temple to temple so he can beg worshippers for food. In this way Zushiō falls to the very bottom of society. As tsuchigurumas were also used to ferry dead bodies, his symbolic death is clear. Finally he is taken to Nanboku-Tennōji temple[9] 南北天王寺 in Ōsaka, Japan's most ancient Buddhist temple and a popular

[8] A tsuchiguruma was a cart used to carry dirt and dirty things. When a disabled person was carried, it was not in a wheelchair of contemporary times, and thus implied they were some "dirty thing." Physically handicapped people were amongst the lowest class of people in Medieval Japan.

[9] Nanboku-Tennōji, which is also called Shi-Tennōji, was first built in 593. This was the original national temple where people of any Buddhist sect could worship. It was widely believed until early modern times that worshiping could get rid of earthly troubles such as illness and poverty.



Shitennō-ji. Photo from the temple Home Page (2015/01/16)

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pilgrimage destination. Once in Nanboku-Tennōji temple, Zushiō grasps the big stone archway at the entrance of the sacred site, and miraculously stands up on his feet again.

At this point, resurrected from his symbolic death, the wheel of his heroic fate starts moving quickly. As soon as Zushiō regains his strength, he is taken up as one of a hundred young boys to do chores and help with ceremonies at the temple. He now is dressed in fresh but secondhand clothes, and is assigned to serve tea. Then, a nobleman who has come from Umezu in Kyōto to look for his heir at the Tennōji temple by the advice of the Kwannon Boddhisattva who has appeared to him in a dream. After looking at the hundred boys from the top of their hierarchy to the bottom, he distinguishes Zushiō from among them. What makes Zushiō different from others?

> 百人の稚児若衆を、上から下へ、三遍まで御覧ずれども、養子になるべき稚児はなし。梅津の院はご覧じて、はるかの下におわします、厨子王殿の額には、よねという字が三つ座り、両岸に瞳が二体御ざあるを、たしかに御覧じて、「それがしが養子に、御茶の給仕を、それがしに給われ」との御諚なり。百人稚児若衆は、御覧じて、「さても都の梅津の院は、目も利かぬことを御申しあるものかな。昨日や今日の、土車に乗りて、乞食したる賤しき茶道を、梅津の院の養子なんどと御申しある」と、一度にどっとぞ御笑いある。梅津の院は聞こしめし、「それがしが養子を、御笑いあるか」と、湯殿におろし申し、湯風呂にて御身を清めさせ申し、膚には青地の錦を召され、唐巻の直垂に刈り安色（黄色）の水干に、玉の冠を召され、一段高う、梅津の院の、左の座敷に御直りありたるは、百人の稚児の中に、似たる稚児はさらになし。
>
> [Umezu-no-In] inspects all one hundred youth who served the temple three times, but he finds no good child to become his heir. Then he spots Zushiō in the farthest back and recognizes the Yone marks on his forehead and two apples in each eye. The honorable lord now is sure and says, "Let me take that tea service boy and make him my heir. Let me take him." Hearing this, the one hundred children laugh together saying, "What a foolish thing Umezu-no-In says! He cannot see properly because he works for the royal palace. This humble tea-serving boy used to be a beggar, who was brought on a tsuchiguruma just yesterday. What a surprise that Lord Umezu chooses him!" Umezu-no-In hears and incensed this scornful noise says, "Do you dare to laugh at my heir?" He sends Zushiō to the bath to be washed and cleansed, and clothes him in blue silk undergarments, court robes of silk colored in the karamaki way, a yellow over-robe of the type officially worn by aristocratic boys, and a jeweled headdress on his head. When Zushiō is seated in the parlor with Lord of Umezu to his right, he is clearly without peer among the rest (Araki 35-36).

The ideographic letter Yone 米, which means "rice", has magical power in Japanese folk beliefs.[10] Two apples of the eye in each eye distinguishes the possessor as a chosen man. The origin of these folk beliefs are not certain, except that they are marks of superhuman figures. Zushiō is a "branded hero" if we categorize him according to Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale* (Propp 52). Adding to the "branded hero" motif, one can easily recognize Cinderella motif in

[10] I remember my aunt used to write this ideographic letter on my palm with her finger whenever I got hurt. She told me to "drink it," and said the invisible letter magic would cure me quickly.

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this story as well. Zushiō's clothes improve as he recovers his social status, and the improvements are described in detail to excite the listeners.

Zushiō is allowed to inherit his father's status and rank as a lord of fifty-four large counties in the northeast of Japan. Additionally he gains territory in a large prefecture in Kyushu, the large southwest island, and the five counties in Tango where he and his sister were enslaved. Becoming a governor of Tango, he immediately searches for his sister in Tango to find out that she had been tortured to death. He captures Sanshō-Dayu and his family to bring them to justice. Zushiō orders that Sanshō-Dayu be buried up to the shoulders and that his sons must cut his neck with a bamboo saw. This is a very severe punishment, not only because it is a slow and torturous way to die, but also because the sons will be damned in hell for patricide. Murdering the elders of one's family is the worst sin in Buddhist-Confucian ethics. Tarō and Jirō desperately protest this cruel punishment, and are pardoned because they had helped Anjyu and Zushiō: Jirō, when they were left to die on the beach, and Tarō, when he kept Saburō from investigating further in the parish temple. Saburō, on the other hand, his father's cruelest agent, must accept the sentence. The text describes vividly how Saburō suffers from torturing his own father. He keeps praying for his father's peace after death with each stroke, and his father's head finally drops after the ninety-fourth time. Then Saburō himself is then buried to the neck along the road by the shore, and passing woodcutters and charcoal makers are ordered to pull the bamboo saw at his neck each time they pass. Saburō suffers for seven days and seven nights and finally dies. In contrast, Tarō and Jirō are granted plots of land and people to govern. Zushiō rewards the parish monk and Ko-hagi, the slave who stopped Zushiō and Anjyu from killing themselves, special status as his benefactors.

Next, Zushiō goes to the northern island in order to find his mother. As he walks, he sees a blind and crippled old woman sitting on the ground and hears her mumble something while chasing little birds away from drying millet. She chants,

> 厨子王、恋しや、ほうやれ。安寿の姫、恋しやな。うわたき、恋しや、ほうやれ。
> "Price Zushiō, I miss you, ho-ya-re. Princess Anjyu, I miss you, ho-ya-re. Uwataki, I miss you, ho-ya-re" (Araki 41).

and throws herself to the ground in profound grief. Zushiō watches her repeat the song and action twice, and calls to her, "Mother." He tells her that he is a man of importance now and has come to save her. The mother, however, is angered because she thinks he is another passer-by mocking her misery. Upon her heartbreaking words, he takes out the family treasure Jizō amulet and touches it to her eyes. Her eyes recover clear vision from its miraculous power. She can at last see her own son in front of her.

This scene of encounter is especially touching, and it is rarely missed in the narratives, dramas and literature of the *SD* story cycle, except in the Tsugaru saimon version that I discuss later. The reunion scene appears to belong to an older

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version than the preceding Zushiō storyline for following reasons. First, the episode lacks specific references to social systems and other characters besides the family members and it concentrates on the emotional reunion of the mother and son. Second, a miracle motif (Jizō opens mother's eyes) appears abruptly after a long narrative of Zushiō's rise to success, and the narrative tone here fits more naturally with the tale of Anjyu. In fact, the tone is smoother and more rhythmic particularly in this episode when contrasted with the rest of Zushiō tale. The unevenness of tone indicates that most episodes of Zushiō's adventure were added later years to the Anjyu story. Third, this part of the narrative is interwoven firmly with the story's basic motif of love and respect between mother and children. "Love and respect" themes are especially dominant in older-style narratives of *SD* and are, in fact, a universal and eternal theme in human expression. Fourth, according to Sakakō, there is an independently written record in Tango that explains the legendary origin of a Kanayaki-Jizō statue, which is stored in a shrine called Gongedo for people to worship. The explanation in the literature is almost a synopsis of the Zushiō tale without any reference of Anjyu and their mother at all. Thus, Sakakō concludes that the story of Zushiō used to be separate from the story of Anjyu. (Sakakō 253-54) It is mass narrative's genius, then, that included the scene of child-mother reunion in the Zushiō tale. This is one of the two most emotionally touching scenes of the *SD* narrative, Anjyu's death scene being the other.

The concluding passages of the last half of *SD* consist of three short parts. First, all good people including Zushiō's exiled father unite in Kyōto to enjoy the happy ending. Second, the narrator tells the audience that the Jizō is worshipped in Tango to console Anjyu's eternal life after her physical death. The Jizō is called Kanayaki-Jizō (iron burned Jizō), and Anjyu is regarded as a Jizō Boddisattva. The third and very last part describes gorgeous marches of good people returning to their homelands and a celebration of the flourishing of Zushiō's family.

3. THE NARRATIVE TRADITION OF BLIND CHANTERS/SINGERS

SHŌDŌ-BUNGAKU

Religious narrative had already been established as a genre by the 12th century. Lower-ranked monks educated illiterate people by telling them stories that expressed Buddhist teachings. The stories syncretized local legends and folk myths or beliefs and were chanted with special intonations and some musical accompaniment. The narrative formed an oral literature genre, which now is called Shōdō-bungaku (唱導文学, religious teaching-guiding oral literature), and it is an important foundation of Japanese folk narrative. Those who made a living by chanting religious narratives were not only monks, but also performing artists. Though I call them "artists" and they were actually very creative, they were regarded as the lowest class of people in pre-modern Japanese society. They presented their song-narratives in temple plots, folk festival sites or on the streets, and lived on whatever money pilgrims and

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passers-by dropped for them. Noh plays by Zeami (1363-1443) depict such performers with awe and sympathy. These street minstrels were often visually impaired and outcast from farming communities. They were looked down upon, yet, at the same time they were treated as special as people who were living closer to the spirit world. They were the first whom Buddhist compassion should reach.

SEKKYŌ-BUSHI

By the 14th century, secular chanters had developed religious oral literature into popular entertainment, called sekkyō-bushi (説教節 preaching song narrative). *Sanshō-Dayu* oral text is one of the five most important remaining sekkyō-bushi cycles. Sekkyō-bushi texts were chanted with specific rhythms and formalized intonations. This was accompanied by a bamboo whisk and/or a chime and later by a three-stringed banjo-like instrument called a shamisen or samisen (三味線). The chanters lived on offerings dropped by listeners for their performance. Accordingly, the chanters embellished the plot and verbal expressions and honed their performance skills to make the story more stimulating to the senses and emotionally powerful.

The audiences were mostly uneducated and preferred stories with bold themes rather than subtle ones. Sekkyō-bushi narratives are, therefore, dramatically constructed, sometimes bleak, other times energetic in tone and even grotesque in description. The *SD* text, for example, contains very emotional scenes such as the forced separation of the children from their mother, the parting of Zushiō from Anjyu, and Zushiō's reunion with his mother after much suffering. While these moving scenes have survived up to contemporary variations, violent scenes such as the torture of Anjyu and the gruesome punishment of Sanshō-Dayu and Saburō have disappeared in modern versions.

GOZE-UTA BY BLIND FEMALES

Sekkyō-bushi performers were traveling balladeers. They were social outcasts, often discriminated against as drifters or beggars. But at the same time, they were trained entertainers and agents of sacred voices and thus treated with awe as well. Among types of sekkyō-bushi chanters, the goze (瞽女) is the most well known. The goze refers to a visually impaired female singer or groups of them, and the "goze-uta" (瞽女唄) is the song genre that belongs to the goze. *Sanshō-Dayu* or its related tales were in the goze repertoire, presumably transmitted from the very early period of its popularization in the 14th century. The narrative texts varied according to the times, places and singers. In the 17th century the gozes were socially organized as entertainers. They existed all over in Japan but most of them disappeared quickly in the 19th century because of socio-economical changes, except those who were active in the north west, where the legends associated with the *SD* story are situated.

In the northwest regions, the goze had their own guild, rules and disciplines of life. As Gerald Groumer's detailed research has proven, goze organizations were closely interwoven into the social system, and there are communities that used to

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be called "goze towns." Hundreds of gozes could have resided in one social unit of specific communities. Five to ten gozes lived together in a house like family with an elderly singer as the head of the family. They remained single and sexual relationships with men were prohibited. When they traveled, several went together led by a non-blind guide. The guide walked in the front with the rest behind her in a row with one hand touching on the back of the person before her and the other hand holding a shamisen and a cane. They traveled extensively, even during the snowy winters. They visited towns and performed folk religious songs and long narratives in residences where the neighbors gathered. They would stay overnight at a place offered by the community and went their way to the next stop. People paid them with rice, cotton, paper or whatever was produced in the region, so gozes exchanged these products for money or what they needed and thus made a living. In urban areas they were paid with money and cash, which helped them to travel light.

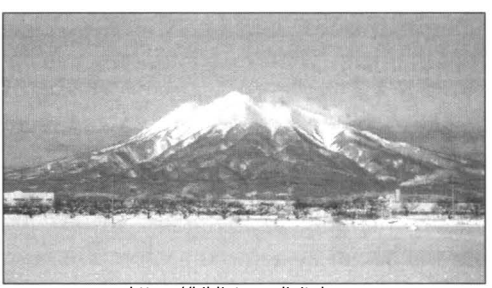
I know no written record of a goze-uta version of *SD*, but *SD* was a popular narrative through the centuries. Different types of oral performers, including gozes, taught themselves songs and stories by overhearing each other while traveling.

ITAKO-SAIMON BY BLIND FEMALE MEDIUMS

There was another tradition of folk religious narrative of *SD* chanted by blind females, called saimon (祭文). Originating as religious devotional songs, saimon developed into various types of religious narratives and ritual entertainment. This particular saimon was transmitted in the Tsugaru area (津軽), in the north of Japan's biggest island. Tsugaru saimon was narrated by the "itako" ("*id*ako" in Tsugaru dialect), who was not simply a chanter but also a spirit medium and often a fortuneteller as well. Itako were almost always female and usually blind. Unlike goze, itako were known as mediums of divine voices and of the deceased, transmitting messages from the spirit world. Itako's mythic narratives (itako-saimon) have ritualistic functions.

The itako-saimon titled *O-Iwaki-san Ichidai-ki* (お岩木山一代記 A Life Story of Honorable Mt. Iwaki) is a variation of the *SD* cycle. This narrative is very different from the *SD* text introduced above. It tells us that Anjyu is a goddess who takes Mt. Iwaki[11] as her sacred body after the death of her human body. Though Anjyu becomes a Jizō in the popular text, this does not occur in *O-Iwaki-san*

[11] Mt. Iwaki.



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Ichidai-ki. Instead, the narrator is Anjyu, because the itako is speaking for Anjyu when she tells the story. She (the itako/Anjyu) begins thus:

> 國の小岩木様は加賀の國に生まれだる私の身の上、わたしのお母親は加賀の國のおさだといふ女であります。三年ね三人の子どもをとりあげで、・・・十八の年に生まれだ私の身の上。
>
> "Mt. O-Iwaki-sama is my body. I was born in the district of Kaga. My mother's name is Osada, who is from Kaga. She gave birth to three children in three years. ... I was born when she was eighteen" (Sakakō 48).

The story is an incomplete but curious variation of *SD*. It is structured as Anjyu's autobiographical confession. She explains how she chose to become the goddess of Mt. Iwaki after surviving overwhelming suffering as a little girl. This narrative is a combination of regional legendary myths and the popular *SD*. The text that I introduce below is a written record of orally narrated saimon by Sue Sakuraba taken in 1931. This version involves the torture of Anyju from the very beginning, and it vividly describes the harsh realities of daily life for Japanese women of the time.

Anjyu is born as the third and last child of her mother Osada. Her big brother is Tsusō-maru (same name as Zushiō, pronounced differently in the local dialect; "-maru" is a suffix which means "young prince") and her big sister is Ofuji. Osada's husband suspects that his wife has had an affair and that Anjyu is not his daughter because of the unusual timing of her birth. Her irregular birth episode marks Anjyu as different. It would be the accepted understanding in the Buddhist thinking of the time that Anjyu has to accept her difference and discrimination as her fate because her mother's karma has brought misfortune upon her. It implies that Osada had committed a sin in a previous life, and though she cannot remember it, the punishment is still placed both on her daughter and on her as well, through her daughter's agony. Anjyu must go through tremendous suffering even though she herself is totally innocent. Anjyu's father buries the baby Anjyu alive in the sand and leaves her there, saying that she if she survives for three years then she is a legitimate child. At this cruel deed, Osada weeps every day and finally loses her eyesight. Her husband tells her either to die or to leave the house because she is now blind and can no longer serve the family. Osada is divorced against her will, goes on the road and sustains herself through a job chasing birds from millet cones. She sings while chasing the birds:

> つそう丸ア；〻戀しいじゃ、ほいほい、と、〻埋げられたるあんじゅが姫ア；〻戀しいじゃ、ほいほい、と
>
> Tsusō-maru, I miss you, hoihoi
>
> Anjyu-ga-hime (princess), you are buried, I miss you, hoihoi (Sakakō 46).

Little children gather around the blind woman and taunt her by pretending they are Tsusō-maru and Anjyu-ga-hime.

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When three long years have passed, the father digs up the sand to make sure Anjyu is dead. To his surprise, he finds her alive. The narrative says, "My [Anjyu's] body is not dead but has grown up instead, and is a laughing body." Her father is furious at her survival (or that he was mistaken in doubting his wife), and puts her on a little boat alone and sends her away on the sea. Anjyu, however, reaches land safely and prays that sacred magic return the boat to her father clean and empty. When the boat comes back alone, her father wonders where his daughter is because the boat is almost new and could not have gone through enough storms to have dropped Anjyu in the sea. Meanwhile Anjyu is guided by string and drum music into the woods and finds Sanshō-Dayu. He takes her as a slave, and assigns her work so unreasonable that nobody could ever finish it. She despairs, but each time someone helps her with her tasks. Her survival drives Sanshō-Dayu to torture her even more severely. She is forced to walk upon the searing rims of seven boiling cauldrons with her bare feet. A swallow flies down from the sky and points out a chance to run away.

The next section consists of new hardships as Anjyu searches for her mother. It is told as an adventure and is a counterpart to Zushiō's escape in the popular version. In *O-Iwakisan Ichidai-ki,* Anjyu is the sole main character so that she experiences all the hardships and suffering. In her escape, she runs away into a local temple in Tango same as Zushiō does in the popular story. Anjyu is fed, packed in a traveling bag and the bag is hung from a beam of the ceiling with a rope. She narrowly escapes from Sanshō-Dayu's soldiers in the same way as Zushiō does. (The readers may notice, however, Anjyu of this story is fed before she is concealed in the traveling bag while Zushiō in the popular tale is not. This is because Tsugaru where *O-Iwakisan Ichidai-ki* is originated was the poorest region of Japan and peasants suffered from hunger.) After this, she wanders through the mountains and fields, and is said to be six years old by this time. The description of her destitute life, drifting from village to village, is so realistic and compelling that one can assume this episode reflects the anxiety of the travelling balladeers themselves.

Towards the end of the story Anjyu stumbles upon her mother living in a ramshackle hut. Osada does not believe that the girl is her daughter until Anjyu touches her eyes and restores her vision. After ten days with her mother, Anjyu requests leave to search for her father. Osada reminds Anjyu that he nearly killed her, but she departs anyway. In the end, Anjyu brings her father, brother, sister and mother together, reuniting the family. The text of Sakuraba's performance is not complete, missing this latter part; it instead suddenly jumps to the final act. This is when Anjyu becomes the goddess of Mt. Iwaki while her brother and sister become deities of different mountains. In Japanese folk religion, mountains are considered

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sacred and understood to be the embodiment of a nature spirit. Strangely, there is no mention of what happens with her parents after the reunion. Why does Anjyu search for her cruel father? Because her parents must be united again in order to accept all three children as equally legitimate. Also, they must witness the rebirth of their children as divine spirits of almighty nature. At the same time, the narrator is not interested in the parents' fate after Anjyu's resurrection. Instead, the account ends with these words:

> 神様なるたて、これくらいも苦しみを受けないば、神ねなる事できないし、人間様だぢも、神信仰よくもぢひでくれるべし。
> Only with this much suffering one can become a kami-sama (a divine spirit) and be worshipped by the people (Sakakō 55).

The *O-Iwaki-san Ichidai-ki* version of *SD* focuses on Anjyu's ordeals and her transfiguration into a deity. Her father attempts to kill her, and Sanshō-Dayu tortures her mercilessly. There are other differences between this version and the popular version. First, the significance of her name "Anjyu" differs from the popular version. In this version, her father names her Anjyu-no-hime 庵主の姫 (daughter of a small-temple priest), while in the popular version her name is Anjyu 安寿 (peaceful and celebrated). Both names are pronounced the same, but written with different characters. In this version her name labels her as illegitimate and contemptible from birth. Second, Anjyu does not have Jizō to help her; instead assistance comes from people who pity her and the bird that saves her from Sanshō-Dayu. She has no magical talisman, but possesses her own miraculous healing power, as seen when she restores her mother's eyesight. The *O-Iwaki-san Ichidai-ki* version illuminates Anjyu's divine nature.

4. CONCLUSION

CULTURAL BACKGROUND AND STORY INTERPRETATION

THE ANJYU STORY AS GODDESS MYTH

The transformation of the *Sanshō-Dayu* story revolves around the hardships and resurrection of Anjyu, and in narrative traditions the most important point is that Anjyu becomes a deity after her suffering. In the *sekkyō-bushi* narrative she comes to be worshiped as a Jizō Boddhisatva, and in the Tsugaru *itako-saimon* she is worshiped as a goddess of Mt. Iwaki. This style of religious origin myth was common from medieval times to the early modern era. They were orally transmitted within communities, and often related during ritual ceremonies and festivals. The Migawari-Jizō (a Jizō who accepts suffering in place of a human) / Kanayaki-Jizō (a Jizō branded by burned iron) statue is celebrated in a shrine in Tango-yura, while some local people believe that the Jizō statue is representation

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of Anjyu[12]. Some believers journey to the shrine to touch the scarred shoulder of Jizō and pray for miraculous healing. As for Mt. Iwaki-worship, Anjyu served as an important surrogate for the peasantry, since her endurance surpassed all. In both variations, it is for her heroic perseverance in the face of hellish misfortune that Ajyu is resurrected.

European traditions also include tales of young girls who endures terrible hardship. These European heroines, however, are motivated by different principles than Anjyu. For instance, Psyche of Greek mythology completes all of the trials assigned by Venus and eventually becomes an immortal through her marriage to Eros. Though it is the god Eros who initially draws the human Psyche into the supernatural world, it is her disobedience that drives him away and invites the wrath of Venus. Anjyu, to the contrary, does nothing wrong. All of her misfortunes fall upon her like hail from the sky. While Psyche endures tremendous adversity in order to attain happiness with Eros, Anjyu simply endures her cruel fate. Psyche achieves perfection when united with Eros, suggesting that Psyche was half perfect when alone. Conversely, Anjyu is strong on her own throughout the narrative. Though male characters nearly crush her with violence, she silently and selflessly endures. There is no mention of marriage or romance. Anjyu's solitude is what stands out, and accordingly she becomes a great mountain or Jizō Bodhisattva, a non-sexual deity.

Japanese Buddhism and Confucianism taught obedience to authority. According to their teachings, endurance was the most respected virtue. Women of the medieval and feudal eras were subject daily to adversity and oppression, so they had great sympathy and respect for Anjyu. Moreover, Anjyu and her mother reflect dichotomous aspects of the blind female singers' personae. Anjyu, on the one hand, is an uncontaminated eternal virgin tormented by a male-dominated society, but so tenacious that she is worshipped as a deity after death. She is a religious icon of hope in the afterlife, encouraging singers and listeners alike.

[12] Nyoiji 如意寺: the little temple where Kanayaki-Jizō is stored and worshipped.

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Osada, on the other hand, exhibits human weakness and frailty in many ways. She cries too much and so loses her eyesight, resulting in her miserable existence in the millet fields. She scratches out a living at the bottom of the society and is constantly vulnerable, physically and spiritually. She represents the reality of the blind minstrels' lives and evokes deep sympathy in listeners. Unlike Anjyu, Osada is saved at the end of the story by her own child and is rewarded for her endurance. Thus Anjyu's mother characterizes hope for people still in this world.

JIZŌ WORSHIP AND *SD* AS A MIRACLE TALE

In the popular version of the *SD* story, the main spiritual background is the Japanese faith in Jizō Bodisattva. Jizō is a compassionate deity, who saves people from the torment of hell. In Japanese history before Western modernization in the late 19th century, Buddhism advanced the idea that a certain class of people were too sinful and unclean to go to nirvana after death. This class of outcasts included those forced to work jobs tainted by death, and those who were considered as "beggars" such as physically handicapped people, lepers, and traveling or street entertainers. Women were also believed to be unclean during menstruation. The folk Buddhist sutra, *Ketsubon-Kyō* (Blood Pond Sutra) 『血盆経』, which originated in 10th century China, even taught that women were doomed to suffer in a blood swamp hell after death[13]. Menstrual blood was considered foul and polluting. This belief held a strong influence all over Japan until the early 20th century. Therefore lower class people and women were more religious, desperately seeking any kind of help. In their oppression, Jizō was their savior. Out of the popular faith in Jizō came numerous miracle legends, folktales, folk art, and festivals. Even in present-day Japan, there still are many kinds of Jizō shrines; small ones at each mile in the road, Jizō temples in the middle of residential areas or at the edges of a community, and small stone Jizō statues along the highway where someone died in a car accident. Jizō is the most predominant popular deity and remains close to the people.

The *SD* ballad repeatedly describes Jizō's miraculous power. First, Anjyu's mother reminds her daughter of the Jizō amulet she carries, which would grant divine protection to the family. The Jizō amulet displays magical power when prayers are answered. Second, Jizō removes the burn scars from the children's faces when they call upon his aid. Third, Jizō's holy light dazzles Saburō and his men so that Zushiō cannot be caught and taken back into slavery. Fourth, Zushiō touches his mother's eyes with the Jizō amulet and she recovers her eyesight. And finally, Anjyu is transformed into a Jizō Boddhisatva to deliver all who suffer from physical pain. She becomes a Migawari-Jizō, which means "Jizō who will suffer in another's place." She is resurrected as a savior. The sacred magic episodes of *SD* may remind European readers of medieval miracle plays or magic fairytales,

[13] Kodachi–Makino 2001.

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Christian Biblical legends or even modern wonder folklore. In Japanese folktales, Jizō can change ragged clothes to extravagant dresses like a Fairy Godmother, or Jizō brings rice cakes and sweets to a poor and honest old couple like Santa Claus. Jizō is very often carved in the image of a small child, demonstrating that Jizō is free from harm, like the angels found in Renaissance art. Jizō protects those who need help and luck in everyday life. Jizō stays close to the common people and is a non-threatening incarnation of absolute compassion and benevolence, equally given to all. Anjyu, a helpless little girl and martyr, is therefore best qualified to become Jizō.

The tale of Anjyu was developed in single or small group narratives. It is more primal and universal in theme and more vernacular in tone. This tradition persisted for centuries, while the dramatic tradition of the Sanshō-Dayu story reached mass audiences and developed many variations. In these drama traditions, the story of Zushiō developed to a greater degree. This is the topic I would like to explore further in my next paper.

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"THE RURAL GUARDS' LOGBOOKS OF INCIDENTS" AS A FOLKLORE SOURCE: A GREEK ISLAND CASE STUDY

MANOLIS G. SERGIS

ABSTRACT

The present article is a case study of the logbooks of a rural guard (community warden) in Komiaki of Naxos (a Greek Cyclades island) of the period 1987–1991 and constitutes an attempt to reveal the value of these logbooks as folkloric research sources. More specifically, on the basis of the daily incidents of delinquent behaviours that the rural guard had to record in his logbooks following the *Bookkeeping Instructions* imposed by the Greek authorities' views of the world of the rural guards are highlighted and most importantly views of the Naxian society and the microsociety of the village Komiaki. The study demonstrates that such rather unexploited folkloric sources in combination with other ones can significantly contribute to the diachronic study of the folk culture.

Keywords: rural guards/community wardens, logbooks of incidents, in-between space, delinquency, Greece, Naxos, Komiaki, Greek culture/folklore.

INTRODUCTION

In Greece, which is the context of the present study, the international term *Folklore/Folkloristics*[1] is often denoted or used interchangeably with the term *Laographia* (study of folk culture), the discipline founded by Nikolaos G. Politis (1852–1921) in 1909. The wide thematology of this discipline can be divided in three main categories as defined by M. G. Meraklis, the folklorist (laographer) who has paved new ways of research for this discipline since 1970[2]:

A. Social formation: 1. natural place, settlement framework, residence, social places, 2. Family structure and organization, kinship, etc. 3. Wider social groups (ethnic, minorities, refugees, "marginal", etc.), 4. Administration (communities

[1] The international literature on the first term is of course voluminous. For the second more recent one see inter alia Zemijanova 1964; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1985; Jackson 1985; Dundes 1999, 2005; Alexiadis 2012.

[2] Meraklis 2011.

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during the Turkish occupation, local administration etc.), 5. Production and consumption of goods (technology before industrialization and during the modern times, vocation, trade unions, associations, beggary, stealing of sheep/cattle, folk sciences (such as astrology, meteorology and divination), nutrition culture, etc.

B. Customary life: 1. Customs of the annual cycle and the human life, 2. Customary folk law, 3. Everyday life, 4. National (historical) life (its old and modern performances, the function of the historical memory), etc., 5. Religious behavior (customs of folk worship of God, church organization, non-ecclesiastical organisations, seclusion, ethical and metaphysical quests, such as superstitions, conceptions of the divine etc.

C. Folk art: 1. Folk literature (e.g. legends, folk tales, funny stories, riddles, proverbs, folk songs), 2. Folk arts (e.g. music, dance, attire, weaving, architecture, embroidery, painting, etc.), folk theatre, folk cinema (produced in the period 1950–1970), etc.

In the modern times more subjects of interest and investigation have been added to the above list (e.g. identities, press, political songs, graffiti, soundscapes, cultural associations, folkloristics of the elections), mainly due to the fact that the interest has shifted towards the *urban space* (*Urban Folklore/Laographia*[3]. More specifically, new folklore subjects are being investigated and researched along with the previously mentioned ones (their new forms and functions etc.), the modern cultural industry, the management of the tradition nowadays, etc.

Therefore, Folklore/*Laographia* is a discipline that studies and analyses holistically a plethora of folklore subjects *within a social-historical perspective* advocated by M.G. Meraklis. More specifically, the folklore phenomenon is considered to be produced *historically* and thus needs to be studied within the particular space and time and in conjunction to all its social parameters (space, social groups, economy, politics, ideology, etc.). In this sense, he labels "his" folklore science *Social Laography*. To this effort, Folklore has as its helpers all the humanistic sciences mainly *History*[4], *Social Anthropology* and *Ethnography/Ethnology* (in Greece these three disciplines are considered equivalent)[5], *Sociology*[6], *Geography*[7]. Folklore/*Laography* is interested in the points where all these disciplines meet and converge to each other, the interdisciplinary view of the subjects in particular. Its main methodological instruments are field work (with all its modern tools, e.g. participatory observation), oral history[8], content analysis, biographical narrations[9], etc.

[3] See Loukatos 1963; Meraklis 1989; Avdikos 1994; Kouzas 2012.
[4] Alexakis 1984; Meraklis 1989: 15–25; Meraklis 2003; Kopsida-Vrettou 2012.
[5] See Megas 1967; Nitsiakos 1997: 13–23.
[6] Nitsiakos 1997: 24–29; Meraklis 1980; Thanopoulos 2012; Doulaveras 2013.
[7] Romaios 1973–74.
[8] Thompson 2002; Kapsomenou-Chatzitaki 1993.
[9] Tsiolis 2006; Kakamboura 2008.

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Within this theoretical framework, the present work proposes ways of studying a relatively unexplored source of folklore to date, namely "Community wardens' logbooks of incidents" (henceforth Logbooks). More specifically, this work deals with the ways in which at least two eminent "folklore worlds" embedded in the aforementioned logbooks, namely, community wardens' (rural guards) and the local communities invigilated by them, are represented in the aforementioned source. The terms "rural guards" (*agrofylakas* in Greek, also called *agrarian police*) and "community wardens" (*kinotiki fylakes* in Greek) are identical the first predating the second since rural guards have been an institution in Greece since 1836. The rural guards were set up immediately after the national restoration of Greece (1830) and aimed at the safety of the rural fields located beyond forest areas and "city, town or village planning". Rural guards were responsible for the prevention and suppression of rural crime, the guarding of rural estates, the supervision of the distribution of irrigation waters and so on, as discussed later in the present study. An interpretation of the historical reasons that dictated the renaming of rural guards as community wardens is also attempted later in this study. Yet, the long history of the institution, which is inextricably interwoven with the modern history and the fate of Greek people, led me to adopt the historic term rural guards in the present study.

As a case study I chose the logbooks of a rural guard of Komiaki, namely Georgios K. Chorianopoulos (1929–2004) and, in particular, his final records[10] (of the period 1987–1991) with a view to restoring with their help the modern aspects of Naxian culture, those of the early 1990's, a period that lacks documentation from the scholarly perspective. Komiaki is a farming/pastoral village in the Naxos highlands which stands as a good example of Braudel's "freedom of mountains"[11] and the subsequent delinquency that manifests itself in such areas and of the conflict[12] between the farming and the pastoral worlds of such villages[13].

The research method adopted in this study is *qualitative content analysis*[14]. More specifically, the logbooks are used as *texts* and the research question is whether any folklore information can be deduced from them that can help the folklorist understand the social reality of both the rural guards' and the invigilated

[10] The logbooks under investigation in the present study were handed to me by Chorianopoulos' sons. The future researchers can, however, find many such logbooks from all the Naxian villages in the Historical Archive of Naxos (located in the capital city of the island) collected recently by an eminent scholar of the island, namely, Lazaros Theophilos.

[11] Braudel 1993: 44–47.

[12] See Damianakos 1987:71–107.

[13] For the history and folk culture of this specific village and the wider mountainous area see Levogiannis 1996; 2001; 2005. Stewart 2008; 2012, Panopoulos 2003.

[14] The Content Analysis, if used in conjunction with traditional literary methods of *in-depth reading*, can compensate for any problems that arise from the subjective text (Burke 2009: 70). The relevant international bibliography, from Berelson (1952) and henceforth is very rich.

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by them society's world. In particular, I immersed in the text and let the folkloristic units emerge. To guarantee credibility I also interviewed the aforementioned rural guard's relatives who confirmed specific pieces of information deduced from the logbooks and further reinforced them with some additional ones.

In what follows I describe the contents and the language of the logbooks focusing on their *bookkeeping instructions* section since I consider them exploitable from a folklore perspective and they guide the way the rural guard's texts are written in terms of style, length and content. Indeed, a number of recordings of this section of the logbooks emerge as valuable folklore information. Then the space and time of the rural guard's activity as depicted in the logbooks along with their duties, symbols of power, social representations are discussed. In the final part of this study, aspects of delinquency along with the social and economic life and the relationships of the particular social web in the invigilated by the rural guard area (Komiaki, a Naxian highlands village) are analysed.

THE LOGBOOKS

The Logbooks of rural guards are usually composed of short texts (a few lines), which constitute the sum of the mandatory recordings of daily incidents. They were quite small in size (14 × 10 cm) booklets issued by well-known publishers in Athens and distributed by the agrarian police to its officers. They were divided into 200 columns of equal size. According to the *Bookkeeping Instructions*, which are to be found on the first and last pages of the logbooks, the rural guard has to fill in the daily incidents in the left-hand column while in the right-hand one (under "Notes - Remarks") he has to note down all necessary action taken (see below for more on this), as dictated by his duties (see photos in the appendix).

From the pool of the instructions found in the logbooks, useful to both the rural guard and our study, I list below those that I consider most useful. The determinant role of instructions No 3 and 5 for the evaluation of the logbooks as a folklore source is also highlighted:

1. It is obligatory for all rural guards to keep a full record for each day of the year, even for the ones when they are absent on annual leave or public holidays.

2. The logbook should be kept clean without any erasing or strikethrough and should always be carried in the rural guard's pocket.

3. The logbook contains model forms of documents which the rural guards should use to compose their own.

4. The instructions mention the other elements (apart from the main incidents) that should be recorded in the logbook, e.g. the days the rural guard was on leave, the days he did not make his daily tour and the reason (illness, for example).

5. The logbook contains a model structure of the subsections of an incident description (presented below in this work).

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At the end of each book there is a printed confirmation that "the pages have been counted and that page[15] numbers have been inserted and found to be ...., and that it is to be used as a book of incidents by the rural guard....[16], and it is the rural guard's.... (number) book in a row"[17]. An illustration of this is that Chorianopoulos's last logbook (which contains entries from 12.04.1991 to 15.06.1991) has the serial number 51. This means that all his working life (he started working in 1963 and retired in 1991) is detailed in those 51 booklets.

According to his relatives, Chorianopoulos used to keep a record of the incident immediately after it had taken place or he kept notes in a rough notebook and registered them in the logbook at night, after he had finished with his daily obligations. Night time is "a neutral time" of rest in comparison to the "functional" time of the day, a period of time that facilitates the process of reflection since it is characterized by retrospection, evaluation and a personal overview of the incidents of the day. A distinction needs to be drawn at this point between "off-hand" narrative speech with its intense personal and idiosyncratic character (which, unfortunately, we do not have at our disposal) and the "official", "constrained", strictly structured speech. It seems that Chorianopoulos would not put off the obligation of recording the incidents in his logbook, lest oblivion distorted certain elements of the incident or the incidents, since his recordings reveal that he sometimes faced more than one on the same day and there was the risk of mixing up the details of the various incidents. After all, the written civilization has always been a safeguard against oblivion and memory restrictions.

THE FOLKLORIC EXPLOITATION OF *THE BOOKKEEPING INSTRUCTIONS*

The aforementioned model structure of an incident description dictates, as mentioned below, a very specific method of recording in terms of both style and content, a formalised, "neutral" discourse. It is the "official", work discourse. The benefit for Folklore would be enormous if the rural guards were allowed to express themselves in their natural, everyday local jargon used by them in their everyday interactions. If this were the case the content analysis of logbook recordings would reveal linguistic, folkloric and emotional expressions, a discourse born of the writer's soul, emotions, ideas, viewpoints, causes and effects, anarchic in structure, an anti-structure discourse[18], as is generally the case with folk narratives. This model structure imposed by the authorities, expresses primarily the state's beliefs about its employees' educational level, to the assistance of whom it rushes through the basic "writing instructions" imprinted in every logbook, as mentioned earlier.

[15] The word *Columns* would be more to the point.
[16] The name of its possessor is written down.
[17] The number is written down.
[18] Turner 1974: 272–298 and passim; Turner 2008.

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I strongly believe that this top-down compulsion was dictated either by the authorities' acknowledgement of rural guards' lack of education (their relative "illiteracy") or by a repulsion towards the exceptionally personal and absolutely "empiric" folk way in which they expressed themselves (a repulsion due to all the aforementioned characteristics of a descriptive, narrative, pure folk text) or else by the official view that rural guards' spontaneous folk speech could not describe delinquent behaviour successfully, in all its width and parameters. Indeed, Chorianopoulos's texts include several terms of the so-called *katharevousa* (a scholarly variety of Modern Greek which approximates the ancient Greek language used in the 19th and 20th centuries) in a difficult to understand text (due to numerous spelling, stress mistakes and bad handwriting). We witness yet another instance of the ideological use of *katharevoussa*, of its use as mentality, that is, as a linguistic code, seen by all social classes as conveying upon its user a social prestige, as bringing him closer to his supervising authorities, as singling him out in his small traditional community and so on[19].

According to the above-mentioned model, the instructions in the left-hand column clearly suggest that the entries should include:

1. "Fully checked identification of the perpetrator". We study this information (especially that related to recursive criminal behaviour) and can subsequently establish correlations with social terms of offensive behavior, setting the required variables, such as age, gender and social class, group of perpetrators, etc. This study can help us sketch out the "marginalised part", the fringes of local society.

2. "Date of offence". (On the basis of this information we can record *frequencies* and correlate them to the aforementioned variables).

3. "Type of deviant behaviour (damage done by animals, people, theft etc.)". This constitutes a classification system that defines and signals the unlawful deed, a system which is quite interesting in itself as it reflects the ideological standing and representations of the official approach (the hegemonic legal discourse) and how this is rejected or assimilated by the collective consciousness or how it is imposed on or established in it. We can thus indicate the degree of the seriousness of the deviant behaviour as it is formulated in the social representations of an area as well as whether it is in compliance with the "official" legal/judicial approach.

4. "Animal species that caused the damage along with the tools used by the perpetrator (bare hands or a plough or an axe)". The "tools of abuse" are of great interest to folklorists since they allow the study of the "material world".

5. "Location of damaged property". This information makes logbooks a valuable source of toponymy. Indeed, rural guards' entries provide a wealth of place names for study since their area of responsibility is cut off to smaller areas, which are less or more conducive to deviant behaviour on the part of the local

[19] Politis 1998: 130–134.

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population. An example: "26–10–1987 After patrolling the area of Baxivani Livada I have no infringements to report"[20]. Or, "27–10–1987 I set off for my partol in my area of responsibility. While I was in the area of Sylalia, I was informed by Ioannis that..."[21]. Such mapping of small areas where criminal acts occur alternating with other, "not dangerous" ones (in the sense that no deviant behaviour is observed there) and probably with some others which are somehow "prohibited", such as the so-called *vakoufia* (property owned by the Ottomans during the occupation period in Cyclades, 1566–1821), represents the totality of the social and symbolic use of the humanised, tamed and socialised landscape. In cases of deviance there is human action targeted at the natural environment and, therefore, an intention of infringement. The micro cycles of "wilderness" - "semi-wilderness" – "civilised" – trespassed" – "non-trespassed" that emerge out of this mapping and the relationship among them are important for the distribution of zones. Also, the movement of the human community in the local space ("in(wards) – out(wards)", "up(wards) – down(wards)", "near(by) – far (away)") signals the socially constructed zones of what is permitted and what is prohibited and their symbolic significance. In particular, the rural guard's tracing of his moves across these zones, which constitute his workplace, in his capacity as a "person in-between", express/reflect his socially defined role in spatial terms.

6. "Type of damaged plantation (wheat, corn, vine, trees, etc.)". The logbooks provide information on the production process, on the existing danger of destruction of the production. This information allows us to measure the degree of "sensitivity" of certain cultivated species and, in this way, we (come to) capture the ideological representation of the "valuable" species at a symbolic level.

7. Full particulars of both the victim's and witnesses' identity. We thus have information on the social structure of the groups, which may potentially allow further categorisations of the "doers – victimisers/sufferers - victims" type.

8. Quantity of damaged goods (kilos, pieces) and cost in money[22]. This entry indirectly provides useful information on the way the community under study approaches and deals with economic matters.

9. Every crime "... committed (...) in the rural guard's district in both the case of bearing witness (the perpetrator was caught in the act) or the case of having collected information on the criminal act after its commitment". The on-the-spot examination on the part of the rural guard constitutes a form of fieldwork and thus possesses a special value from a folklore perspective.

10. The "conditions under which the infringement took place along with its characterization as either an intentional act or one of negligence". Let me note at this point that an act of negligence is one when the perpetrator's livestock:

[20] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 44, column 58.

[21] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 44, column 58.

[22] From the *bookkeeping instructions of* Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 44, of the period 1987–88. Drachma was the national currency at the time (replaced by Euro in 2002).

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- "have escaped his attention and invaded" [the farm][23]
- "trickily got into the vine" (of goats)[24]
- "some remained behind and entered into the farm"[25]
- "he had lost the goat and was looking for it"[26].

Intentional deeds are when the doer knows the conditions under which an animal can cause damage and takes no preventive measures, as in "he knew that they [the goats] were coming down from his own farm and did not take the necessary measures"[27], or when he knows about the continuing offence and will not stop it, "he knew they were trespassing"[28]. Rural guards' criteria for each of these two conditions are as follows:

- A forensic examination of the scene, which seems to be the most prevalent criterion. Example: "4–9–1987. During my patrol in the area of Plaka I realized that the vine of Nikolaos Antonios Chorianopoulos had been ravaged. During my on-the-spot examination I verified, based on the traces found, that ten goats had invaded the vineyard owned by Ioannis P. Frantzeskos, who confessed to it , and caused damage worth 150 drachmas but that it was an act of negligence since these 10 goats had been left behind the rest of his flock and invaded the vineyard"[29]. The direct perception of the incident (*I realized*), the appeal to animal traces as evidence for the number of animals involved need to be pointed out.
- Information from the victim, his family, friends or neighbors. "19–4–1991. During my patrol in the area of Trani Elia Skadou I was informed that..."[30], or "26–9–1987. During my patrol in Afres I was informed by Ioannis N.L.... that the goats owned by Nikolaos A.M. ... had destroyed his vineyard. During the on-the-spot examination I verified, with the help of the traces found, that indeed 50 goats had got into the vineyard and caused damage to the vine and its leaves and various other fruit trees worth 4600 drachmas and that it was committed on 25–9–1987 and it was an act of intention as their owner was aware of the fact that his goats kept getting in and did not take the necessary precautions"[31]. This type of information is put under careful scrutiny by the rural guard. Chorianopoulos, for instance, seems quite cautious with regard to the complaints of a fellow villager of his concerning damage caused in his property. This villager keeps complaining to the rural guard (we often meet the verb *complained* in his logbooks) that his vineyard did not bear fruit and attributes this fact to the goats of a specific fellow villager that kept eating his plants. The forensic examination, however, reveals that „there was no evidence

[23] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 51, column 58.
[24] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 44, column 32.
[25] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 44, column 112.
[26] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 44, column 38.
[27] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number. 44, column 46.
[28] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 44, column 90.
[29] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 44, columns 4 and 6.
[30] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 51, column 8.
[31] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 44, columns 21 και 22.

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that the plants had been nipped in the bud and I found no damage in the vines or the trees in the vineyard"[32]. Chorianopoulos' relatives narrated to me numerous such incidents of resourceful reactions on the part of the clever rural guard, in which this intelligent man refuted his fellow villagers' allegations with reasonable arguments. This last quotation from his logbook demonstrates the community inhabitants' trust in rural guards' judgment, which was well founded on their long experience, their excellent knowledge of the anthropogeography of the area they oversaw and the conduct of the animals and persons itself.

In the case of the present work, the *direct* and *indirect* narration of incidents that occurred in the community life constitutes valuable material for a comparative *emic* study of the organisational aspects of the complex of the subjects' social relations, networking and motivation.

THE SPACE AND TIME OF RURAL GUARDS' ACTIVITY

Rural guards' space of activity is primarily what is recorded in their logbooks as *my district* or *land property position.* This is in essence an "in-between zone" an "intermediate place", a "civilised physical space", subjugated, civilised Nature as against the *socialised*, sanctified, inhabited territory[33] of the village of Komiaki. What we witness here is the imposition of the *human* on the half civilised. This is indicated by the very words used: the first compound of the term rural guard in Greek (*agrofylakas*) derives from the Latin noun ager/agris which means *field* (in greek *agros)*, from which is derived the Latin adjective *ager, agera, agerum* which indicates the wild or untamed (to be found and grows in the fields).

Rural guards are mediators and move in an in-between zone. They impose classifications and limits within this intermediate space. Their service life rotates around the two aforementioned spaces mainly: they enter the in-between zone (their district of responsibility) everyday, except for a few days in the year, as mentioned later in this work.

This in-between space is transitional, and favours delinquency since it is liminal, less safe or more amenable to rules violation. One guards his home more easily than his field, whose natural borders are *by nature* more vulnerable and disputable. In this sense, I consider the "in-between space" as similar to the intermediate, transitional *time* of the rituals during the transitional time periods of the "cycle of time"[34] because time and space are contiguous, intermingling facts and concepts. During time liminality the persons or the groups are in a transitional, ambiguous condition since they belong nowhere. This period, therefore, constitutes an "abnormal" situation, timeless and fluid. At the threshold of the *passage* between the "before" and "after", time seems still, the persons are in mid-air in this

[32] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 51, column 48.
[33] Stewart 2008: 162–163; Lagopoulos 2003.
[34] Turner 1974: 231–270 and passim; Stewart 2001; Stewart 2012.

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in-between unclear condition (social, spiritual, emotional, etc). This disturbance of the regularity, being dangerous, was confronted with a variety of rituals.

In this line of thought, the more frequently mentioned in the logbooks places within the rural guard's district are the more *delinquent* ones. In rural guards' records, the researcher needs to spot these places, which are also related to:

– individual properties of specific persons, therefore to certain persons who continually violate the law

– some land particularities of the places which favour breaches or border violations or various agrarian violations

– some areas claimed by more than one persons that become the focus of rural guards' surveillance and are thus more frequently visited. The risks that rural guards run are obvious: the orchestrated attack on the part of people who question their decisions, their unlawful fellow villagers and their personal enemies or, simply, accidents. In our case Chorianopoulos hit his knee badly while he was on a tour[35].

The rural guard does not have fixed working hours. Ever since the introduction of the five-day working week, he has had to work for eight hours per day. Every Saturday Chorianopoulos writes "27–9–1987 I did not go on duty because of the implementation of the five-day working week"[36]. The five-day working time-table was implemented in Greece in January 1980. However, years after this date, he keeps referring to this change in his professional life. He is alert and ready to live up to his duties any time day or night. At times he is obliged to be away from his family for a whole week due to the vast distances he has to cross on foot in the huge geographical area under his responsibility or the simultaneously emerging or increased in number events he has to deal with. This is an elongation of his working time within his already extended working space. Therefore, we can see that the rural guard's relation with his work does not follow a strictly defined framework (in terms of time disposal, obligations or personal responsibility) but is guided by his *personal interest* and concern over the work being done properly even in violation of his personal time or even his holidays. He stays and sleeps outdoors in the fields under particularly unfavourable circumstances with obvious consequences for his health, as his relatives testify. It needs to be pointed out here that the older (until the 1970s) folk superstitions about fairies, ghosts etc. who might harm people sleeping outdoors in the fields at night are not at all powerful any more. His attitude towards his professional duties is stirred by a personal, unwritten, handed down, socially formulated "system of values". This personal choice on the part of the subject of the present study clearly falls within the so-called *sense of honour* (the Greek *filotimo*[37]). The rural guard's intrinsic interest

[35] In Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 50, column 8.

[36] In Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 44, column 22.

[37] Etymologically, *filotimo* means "love of honor" (= philo + timi), although the honour referred to is not merely external, or for "showing-off" purposes, but a psychologically internalized yardstick of goodness, as in the ancient "kalos kai agathos [good and virtuous]". See Herzfeld 1985: passim.

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in his work has to do with his personal conception of duty, which is not imposed by his superiors but is an entirely individual ideological representation of what constitutes the proper fulfillment of work duties, a fulfillment which can be summarised in the idea-phrase: "I do my job well". This conception presupposes an appropriation of one's area of responsibility as a "personally owned space" to be guarded.

This is his working – daily time, which is primary, performative and physiocentric. This routine is disturbed by some special occasions, a different time, which is also working-time in essence but a time of presence alone and, therefore, secondary. Such cases are the days when he goes to town for training or to collect his salary. In our case, the rural guard usually goes to the prefect's office in the town of Naxos every 16th and 30th or 31st and 1st day of the month to collect his salary. Example: "1/9/1987. I went to the prefect's office for my salary for the 1st fortnight of September 1987. 1st fortnight's salary 30130 drachmas 30/10/87, or I went to the prefect's office for my salary for the 1st fortnight of November 1987. 1st fortnight's salary 30130 drachmas[38]. This journey to town is confirmed in the logbook by the signatures of both *the payer* and *the payee*.

Chorianopoulos also visits Chalki, the centre of the "law life" of Northern Naxos, (when his indictments are tried in the court room) for his indictment trials. He usually returns to his duties immediately after and patrols a certain part of his area of responsibility. Example: "22–9–1987. I went to Chalki and presented myself in the courtroom for my indictment, I returned to my District. During my patrol in Paloerou Vlakou no violation of law occurred to me"[39]. He rarely leaves his duty to visit his superior or the agriculturists[40] to be informed about agrarian and pastoral compensations[41].

The *leave* he is entitled to as a civil servant is his free, non-working time. Example: "My 12-day regular leave began on 14–12–1987 and ended on 29–12–1987. On 30–12–1987 I took up my duties in my area of responsibility"[42].

THE RURAL GUARDS' DUTIES AND THE SYMBOLS OF THEIR POWER

Rural guards are primarily authorised to keep the order in an in-between space[43], as mentioned above. Being persons of power, they are in uniform, with the appropriate power symbols[44], they show their respect to their superiors by saluting in an army fashion and they also carry other power signs / insignia, such as:

[38] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 44, columns 3 and 80.

[39] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 44, column 14.

[40] A scientist who has been specialized in agriculture and deals with the development and improvement of the agricultural production.

[41] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 50, column 76.

[42] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 44, columns 116 and 118.

[43] See the ancient Greek use of the term (*agros* [field] and *fylax* [guard]): the person who guards the fields.

[44] Vrelli 2003.

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– weapons, which can be used in specific cases. According to the instructions in the logbooks it is mandatory to record every case in which "...the official gun was used along with the number of the bullets consumed and the reason that caused its use". In the present case their owner never made any reference to any such use.

– a whistle, to facilitate communication among more than one rural guards (in cases where there are more colleagues patrolling in the same or a neighbouring district) through the use of coded whistles when they are away from their "centre" of operation. This is a signal sound – a socialised sound, which "moves" and is diffused in the wild, uninhabited or the civilised space, signalling its bearers' relations, first, with the other rural guards, second, in relation to the space they are obliged to supervise to keep the order and, finally, with any to-be offender since this sound acts as an offensive action deterrent.

– a rope to possibly tie a stray animal or a criminal, etc., with. The link between the concepts of power, suppression, confinement, control of the body and this symbol is well known. Let it be noted that, in the process of arrest, no distinction between a person and an animal is made, which means that the arrested subject is tied in the same way.

Furthermore, they are entitled to mete out justice, inflict penalties, punish people, guard the sacred institution of property, testify to property borders in cases of trespassing, and kill stray animals as entitled by the law. The notion of *limits* of any type and of their signification thus slips into my discussion once more: the issue of the boundary lines between the legal and the illegal, the type of action that is treated as punishable and offensive along with the possibility of "exceeding the limits" and, therefore, of interfering with the order, that is the unusual case that may drive the community beyond its *status quo* (even if temporarily) and that has to be avoided at all costs. Rural guards are guards and limit-setters – representing the order as they do. Moving continuously in the "in-between space" of their daily routine, they bring the order of socialised space to bear on the "in-between" one, via surveillance, control and penalty infliction. As Douglas argues, "the order that every society imposes on the world... is not natural but an artificial cultural order that derives from the classification process"[45].

This is certainly a power complex which, nonetheless, unlike what happens with policing in urban or inhabited space, does not operate with a high degree of violence, exactly because it extends and acts on the structure of nature or where man transforms nature into a *place* via socialised, productive processes. The rural guard eventually ends up being a lovable rather than hated person in the collective consciousness of the Naxian community (the Naxian *only* due to specific historical conditions as explained below) within the framework of the beneficial to the public work he is assigned to do, a person who labours for the "community's welfare". Naturally, the fact that delinquency in Naxos during this period is not severe

[45] Douglas 2006: 11.

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(the period of robberies is bygone) contributes to less tense relations between rulers-the ruled-offenders-guards (see below for a more elaborate discussion).

The cultivated land that they oversee (as a living organism and symbolic representation) holds a special position in civilization, forming part and being an inalienable component of the landscape; and thus it embodies part(s) of the history and civilisation of each area. The cultivated fields constitute a symbol of the community's welfare, its very survival, and a central point of the inhabitants' daily routine and social life, a place where rituals are performed, and so on. They also constitute one of the most clearly visible symbols of the social processes and collective identity[46]; their history is also their owners' history, they are visible memories of the past, their arrangement in space indicates the presence of a particular family or clan in the area; they are connected to human labour and interaction on a daily basis since they are also social places of gathering for the neighbours *par excellence*. Their plants or trees are the victims of the illegal attacks of humans and animals (see more analytically below) and rural guards restore the disturbed ethical order and support the rights of the damaged community. Their connection to the saint – guardian of the "wild" forest inevitably emerges in my discussion. In the traditional Greek culture the saint's interventions are numerous when one attempts to break the law, to cut down a "forbidden" tree in a "sacred" monastery field, for instance[47]. The sacrilegious offender asks in terror for the saint's mercy, pays back for his illegal deed via a votive offering within the framework of his "do ut des" relationship with God[48] and thus the order is restored. If the saint is accountable to God, rural guards seem to be accountable to their superiors. What the former represents within the unwritten customary and ethical rules rural guards possibly represent within legislation. More specifically,

– They become mediators in various crises that arise in the community. Here I quote an attempt to settle a quarrel and search for a consensual solution to property disputes: "...one's animals should not pasture in the fellow villager's property or rented land if they cannot come to an agreement and if anyone complains that his neighbour's animals get into his land, I will immediately bring the case to justice..."[49], or: "I recommended they go to the court to settle their share of the field and this is not my responsibility". This was a case of a dispute over some olives, which one of the disputants collected by appropriation[50]. This is a good testimony for the study of the texture of human relations, a quite rich emic, as mentioned earlier, material that provides on the spot information that might skip the folklorist's attention otherwise.

– They have a decisive role in the court, which will eventually judge the offender, through the penalties they set and record in their logbooks. One of the

[46] Rival 2001.
[47] Nitsiakos 1997: 51.
[48] Mauss 1979; Alexiadis 1987.
[49] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 44, column 200.
[50] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 44, column 71.

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rural guard's duties is to sue an offender within three days of the commitment of the offence[51]. In this case we can notice some issues of conflict between official and customary law.

– They oversee the distribution of valuable water and any possible violations of the arrogation timetable. Let us note that the fair distribution of water supplies constitutes one of the "hottest" issues of Greek agricultural production[52].

– They master the life of stray or "offensive" animals since they arrest them or put them to death according to the official law. Stray animals (*vaerika*), for instance, are instantly killed in Naxos. The animals arrested for damage of field property are held in custody for ten days until their owner shows up. If the owner fails to show up within these ten days, then the animals are put up to auction and their food, custody and damage expenses are taken off the final bid.

– They invigilate forbidden pasture zones, an issue pivotal to Greek financial and social life concerning the relations between farmers and shepherds at least since the national restoration of 1830, when the areas of pure farming were separated by law from the pasturing ones[53].

– They undertake the role of an *estimator* (of damage or the monetary value of property), a role that offers us information about some aspects of material life (land value and so on).

– They record every offence within their grasp, such as animal theft, illegal hunting, smuggling, forest arson, illegal wood cutting, and smuggling of antiquities. In this sense, the logbooks provide us with a wealth of information on the full range of the destructive interventions in the natural environment and the modern view of showing no respect for it, which goes against the awe for nature people expressed in traditional societies[54].

– They offer full assistance to other authorities and take part in the suppression of illegal action.

– They record tree grafting as well as the trees planted (type of tree, number, owner's identity, property location). I have not spotted such a record in the logbook texts of the present study. However, in 1991 the rural guard of our case offers his assistance to the state agriculturists who came to his territory to see and record the natural damage caused to the vines in order to compensate their owners[55]; he goes about the island with the local agriculturist to verify that the number of animals reported by the owners in the process of securing some financial support from the European Community is indeed accurate[56] (in Greece there is sometimes some discrepancy between the two).

[51] See indicatively the "Rural guard's Duties" as cited in Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 44.
[52] Nitsiakos 1997.
[53] Damianakos 1987: 71–107.
[54] Nitsiakos 2008: 81–100.
[55] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 51, columns 60 and 62.
[56] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 50, column 4.

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THE RURAL GUARDS' SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS

The above discussion leads us to believe that rural guards enjoyed high respect and prestige in the local societies they lived in. I would therefore argue that the extension of their duties in the rural areas to the *humanised environment*, the society of their village, comes as a natural consequence. They expel *anomy* from the „in-between space", as already mentioned, *bring some peace* to it and, since this space interacts with the socialised one, the fruit of their success is carried to it as well, thus enhancing its social web. Resolving a property dispute in the in-between space, for instance, will also improve relations in the socialised space. As noted below, due to their continuous patrolling, rural guards possess perfect knowledge of their area of responsibility. They are rightly considered to have a global overview of their area. They know its anthropogeography: the owners of the estates, those of the animals arrested thanks to the identifying stamp they carry on their ears (*sfragida* in Greek)[57], the names of neighbouring property owners, the likely perpetrators of an offence, and so on. They are also familiar with their fellow villagers' difficulties in times of tension, requiring subtle treatment. All this makes them eminent figures of the local community. In traditional Greek society, their role with regard to keeping track of villagers' everyday life (births, deaths, adoptions, earlier incidents in their lives, and so on) was performed by the registrar, who was the carrier of mnemonic culture and, thus, a prestigious figure in the community. This knowledge of the past meant power. It is therefore no coincidence that rural guards are members of numerous administrative and cultural councils. In addition to that, they are often the sole informants and assistants of folklorists, hydrologists, environmentalists, agriculturists, etc., who visit the village to conduct fieldwork. Chorianopoulos was one such case.

The way the guards were selected for appointment before[58] and after 1954 (a landmark for Greek rural police) poses a number of folklore questions and subjects, which, however, as becomes evident, are not recorded in the logbooks. They were selected by superiors, often along favouritist criteria, namely their political party identity. How does this affect their professional life? To what degree does it influence their judgments of offenders, their estimation of the damage caused or the infliction of penalties? How do their family, friendship and likely *do ut des* [59] relationships affect their work? What are the equity limits in their behaviour as individuals, friends, relatives, civil servants, as persons with a declared political identity? How were they exploited by various Greek governments as these very governments appointed them as guardians of order, especially in those dark periods[60]

[57] Zevgolis 1953.

[58] In Naxos at least they are appointed by the community authorities. In Glinado (a naxian village), for instance, it is inferred by oral testimonies that the rural guard was appointed by the President of the community because nobody wanted to undertake this role.

[59] Alexiadis 1987

[60] See inter alia, for instance, Panourgia 2009: 63–116.

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when political passions divided Greek people into "nationalists"–"right-wing" and "miasma"–"left-wing"?

The heterogeneous answers to the above questions have made the profession an *amphisemous* one, they have "coloured" it negatively, in rather shameful shades, at least since post – (World) war (II) years (from 1940 on). It is true that, in the collective consciousness of a large segment of the Greek political 'body' (at least half of it, the so-called "centre-left") rural guards are associated with policemen, since the former oversee the "in-between space" and the latter the socialised one (the community). Similarly, Greek society (by the same margin) has formed negative representations of this power component, which has been associated in people's memory with the worst moments of their post-war history. This is a segment of society synonymous with state appropriation, violence, falsification of the elections outcome, terror, political persecution, ill-defined "nationalism" and so on. In a generalised framework, the priest, the teacher and the policeman were (on a local level) the ideological gate-keepers and suppression mechanisms of the Greek state, who sustained the political and ideological system of 20th century Greece until at least 1981.

In this sense, the change of the *rural guards'* title to that of *community wardens*, which took effect while P.A.S.O.K., the Greek socialist party, was in power, three years after it came to power (1981), cannot be a coincidence. But the change of the name does not bring along as if by magic *catharsis* from the *unlawful deeds* (with or without quotation marks) of the past rural guards are fraught with, for a "violent renaming" cannot erase historical memory. The fact that the rural police body is abolished in 1984 (law 1481), is re-established in 1990 (right-wing government, law 1892), is abolished again in 1994 and 2001 (socialist governments, laws 2218, 2910), is re-established in 2007 (right–wing government, law 3585) and is abolished anew in 2010 (socialist government) is apocalyptic[61]. Or, what could the fact that rural police was initially accountable to the Ministry of Interior Affairs (responsible for public administration) and later to the Ministry of Public Order (responsible for keeping the order and civil safety) suggest?

The logbooks reflect clearly rural guards' educational level. According to law 3030/1954, which has governed the organisation and responsibilities of the institution of rural police since 1954 (with slight modifications), the criteria postulated for the selection of candidate rural guards (at least officially) were Greek nationality, age (23–35), primary school graduation, or, in the case of scarcity of candidate, knowing how to read and write alone, with an appointment decision justification[62]. In our case, Georgios Chorianopoulos is an almost illiterate man as manifested in his written texts.

It is fortunate for the folklorist that Chorianopoulos records in his logbooks, for example, next to the few entries that verify his visit to the prefect's office to get

[61] Vlachakos, Zannetos 2007: 110–111.
[62] Vlachakos, Zannetos 2007: 95.

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paid, the exact amount of his salary and his Christmas and Easter bonuses (see Table 1). The folklorist can "read" a variety of useful elements into the numeric salary data, juxtapose them to those of other civil servants, use them to estimate the *priorities* of Greek society, the political power of certain privileged "trade unions or pressure groups" on the basis of the responsibilities and services that each professional class offers or believes they offer to society, which are beyond the scope of the present study but open to future researchers. As complementary elements useful for comparison, I mention Chorianopoulos's relatives' testimony that in 1963, the year of his appointment in the agrarian police, his salary was 450 drachmas a month. To this salary the folklorist may need to add income from other sources: Chorianopoulos, for instance, also practised the profession of a (pack) saddle maker, which he pursued more intensely after his retirement. Furthermore, his income can be compared to older forms of payment, such as the reward for the capture of animals or payment in kind (barley, olive oil, and pulses). The compensation given in older times by the farmers (not the State) to the rural guard, for instance, was called *agroufilakiat'kou* in Western Greece or *dragatika* elsewhere.

Table 1

Date	Fortnight payment (in drachmas)	Easter/Christmas bonus
September 1987	28.980	
November 1987	30.132	
December 1987		56.770
March 1988	32.870	
August 1990	49.743	
October 1990	49.743 and 14.303 (extra ATA[63]) = 64.046	
November 1990	53.259	
March 1991	55.525	
April 1991	56.416	60.632

ASPECTS OF DELINQUENCY IN THE "IN-BETWEEN SPACE" OF THE VILLAGE KOMIAKI

I consider the following classification schema, which is based on the information recorded in the logbooks, important for a closer understanding and study of rural life in Naxos.

The rural offences that community wardens are expected to face, as noted in the *Logbook instructions*, are of three kinds: 1. agrarian property damage 2. agrarian law breaches, 3. agrarian breaches.

[63] A.T.A. was an additional sum of money offered to civil servants to compensate for any inflation increase.

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Agrarian property damage involves *theft* and *embezzlement of farming objects up to the value of 500 drs, damage* or *destruction of farming objects up to the value of 500 drs, damage involving animals* regardless of value. Agrarian law breaches are the violation of the agrarian law provisions of the Community (or Agrarian Council) or those of the Perfecture, e.g. grazing in a forbidden zone, violating the set timetable or the day set for the arrogation of one's fields and gardens. Agrarian breaches refer to the removal of landmarks, size reduction, and breaches involving the capture of animals or the collection of a reward for such capture, infringement of court decision provisions, and so on.

The aforementioned issue of the diachronic rural and pastoral world relations, their confrontation as an expression of conflicting interests, as has been discussed by Damianakos[64] therefore arises anew but emerges here on a smaller scale, especially in the period analysed, due to the specific local and historical circumstances.

The agrarian law breaches recorded by Chorianopoulos are almost nonexistent. I indexed only one such case, an instance of illegal spring water use, from his logbook No 44 of a six and a half-month period (31.8.1987 – 14.3.1988). The vast majority of the rest of such recordings relate to *agrarian property damage* performed by animals. The "offenders]" are goats, which sounds rather natural since they outnumber other species in this period. However, this also confirms Greek people's widespread conviction that goats are demon-animals, tameless, ever moving, treacherous, delinquent[65]. They are somehow the *wild* animal, as opposed to the tamed –"civilised" animal called *sheep*, which Greek people associate with the innocence pole of the *slyness-innocence* point-counterpoint relation ("he is a sheep").

During the period examined in this study, goats invade mostly fields for grazing them up usually in small groups of 1–10, rarely in groups of up to 30, even more rarely in groups of 50–80, and in one case in a group of 100.

Sheep come second by far in the damage recorded. They "invade" land in very small groups (usually 1–4), rarely in groups of up to 10, pointing to their far less robust presence in the economy of the Naxian animal-raising community of this period. The cattle-raising economy of the island has always been relied more on goats anyway. Victims of these invasions in the Naxian paradigm are:

– Primarily vines. The animals "attack" the products of their "raw"/"unprocessed" nutrition culture. The value of the damage to these products estimated by the rural guard expresses the significance attributed to them by the community and possibly the symbolism borne by these products (especially wine[66] and other local products) and the position they hold in the nutrition identity of the village studied, that is its economic and social life.

[64] Damianakos 1987: 71–107.

[65] Politis 1904, v. 1: 107; Stewart 2008: 176.

[66] Levi-Strauss 2001; Braudel 1995: 244–250.

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– The irrigated fields, planted with peppers, faba beans, garlic, cabbage, potatoes, beans. The importance accorded to these specific kinds of food and the position they hold in the Naxian nutrition system are high and so is the value (both financial and symbolic) of land in the local production system, by analogy. It goes without saying that irrigated fields are more highly valued than dry ones.

– Fruit-bearing orchards (mainly olive-trees, apple trees, fig-trees, pear-trees). The presence of olive oil, a key Mediterranean diet product, in Naxos is decisive.

– Barley fields, fodder and so on. The "humble" barley bread that revives but is poorer nutritionally than wheat bread[67]. Wine, olive oil and wheat form the triad that dominates, to Braudel the diet of the Mediterranean Sea peoples[68].

In the same logbook (No 44, 31.8.1987 – 14.3.1988) the vast majority of the damages add up to 150 drachmas, few up to 600, one up to 4.600 drachmas. The relatively huge increase of the estimated financial compensations for the years 1990 and 1991 (depicted in the second logbook) in relation to those for the years 1987 and 1988 is impressive: the highest are 8.400 and 10.000 drachmas. This is probably due to the galloping inflation of that period. For illustration purposes, the recording of damages for the two-month period 12 April – 15 June 1991 is provided in Table 2 below:

Table 2

Perpetrators	"Sufferer space"	Estimated damages (in drachmas)	Acceptance or rejection of compensation
6 goats	fodder	1.500	compensation not claimed
number not mentioned	fodder	1000	indictment
4 goats	vineyard	6.700	the sufferer was compensated
1 goat	vineyard	3.800	compensated
2 goats	vineyard	2.000	compensation not claimed
2 goats	vineyard	1.500	compensated
3 goats	vineyard field, wheat field	500	compensation not claimed
number of goats not mentioned – large numberexpected	fodder	5.000	cannot lodge a complaint because this is a disputable field and the opponents are already embroiled in legal battle
3 goats	vineyard	300	the sufferer does not accept the compensation and does not sign the report
1 goat	vineyard	500	compensation not claimed
1 goat	vineyard	500	the sufferer does not accept the compensation and does not sign the report
1 goat	vineyard	3.000	nothing recorded

[67] Braudel 1995.
[68] Braudel 1995; 1997.

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Human activity in the in-between space of Komiaki is restricted but more interesting. In Chorianopoulos's logbook No 44 (in the same period of 1987 – 88) for a 6.5-month period I indexed:

– one case of property disputes over the illegal appropriation of olive trees[69],

– one case of intentional agrarian breach. It is noteworthy that Chorianopoulos's forensic examination was done in the presence of a colleague rural guard, which points to the severity of the case. They went to a field whose fencing had been removed by the offenders and whose fodder had been consumed by the offenders' goats (almost 50 in number) in a period of four months. Their estimate for the damage caused was 1.500 and 1.000 drachmas respectively[70],

– a case of conscious placement of a mule in an olive tree field the offenders did not own[71].

The other two logbooks offered only one case of intentional agrarian breach. Some villagers destroyed five olive trees in a disputed area on purpose (probably to avenge themselves). The damages added up to 20.000 drachmas (in September 1990)[72].

The sparse incidents, in my view, demonstrate the self-evident. Delinquency in the "in-between" space in Komiaki has confined itself to almost exclusively unintentional agrarian breaches. This comes as an expected development. Indeed, the presence of three rural guards in the area of Komiaki in 1963 further testifies to this, though severe incidents like those occurring in neighbouring villages (Apiranthos, Filoti[73]), as reported upon in scientific research or in the local press, were never the case there. This is a consequence of the inevitable normalisation of social life, of the modernisation spirit that permeated the Naxian society at large in the 1980's and 1990's. Therefore, my assumption concerning *delinquency* in the farming and pastoral world of Komiaki being substantially decreased or constantly decreasing as compared to the past (first decades after the German occupation, 1940–1945) is confirmed in this study. Indeed the frequency of the *no incident happened* entry signals this historical truth as articulated by a state official. The folklorist also has to search for the economic reasons that contributed to this development, like, for instance, the rise in the shepherds' standard of living, the fact that appropriate animal food has become affordable and thus animals are deterred from committing illegal acts, the use of high and solid fences that clearly mark and protect the natural borders of landed property and so on.

In the "Notes - Remarks" column, opposite the column where the incident is described, as mentioned above, we usually see the following:

[69] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 44, column 70.
[70] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 44, columns 122 and 124.
[71] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 44, columns 24 and 26.
[72] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 50, columns 46 and 48.
[73] See Giannoulis 2007.

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– Whether the perpetrator has been notified.

– Whether the sufferer has been compensated. Example: "for the offence recorded opposite I was given a compensation of 150 drachmas by the perpetrator Ioannis P.F. and have no further claims, signed by the sufferer"[74].

– Whether the sufferer demands to be compensated for the damage suffered or not: "The incident opposite came to my knowledge in Koronos today, 22–11–1987. For this damage I was compensated with the sum of 150 drachmas and I have no more claims, signed by both the sufferer and the perpetrator"[75].

– The date arranged for the trial in case of a prosecution in court.

– Some other actions, decisions on the part of the rural guard, or suggestions to the sufferers.

– Sometimes the verdict of a trial, as in: "the case was prosecuted in court, on 30–9–87/ABM.317/ trial date 24–11–87/ defendant (found) guilty"[76].

The study of such entries a) constitutes a reliability criterion for the rural guard's decision to refer the case to court since the verdict confirms or disconfirms his own decision, b) reveals the time required for the award of justice in the Greek periphery. The offence above, for instance, was discussed in court almost two months after its referral. In all the above we can observe the rural guard's socially and symbolically in-between position in relation to the perpetrators/offenders and sufferers/victims. Furthermore, we notice his "mediation" role between the official award of justice that is the state power and the people of the community. The rural guard is a person "in" the community, "one of its members", "appointed" with the right to "transfer" to the central administration the incidents of the local rural and "in-between" (within the anthropological perspective) periphery.

There are few cases (as shown in Table 2 above) when the sufferer *refuses to receive* the estimated compensation: "I announced to him the agrarian breach opposite and he refuses to receive the compensation, the sum of 500 drachmas from perpetrator A...P...K... and refuses to sign"[77], so only the rural guard's signature appears. The folklorist need not rush to conclusions as far as the causes of such entries are concerned. Is the compensation rejected by the sufferers because they do not deem it fair or for a million other reasons that can easily be deduced? Who questions the rural guard's decisions, estimates, judgments and for what reasons? Other folklore sources can help with answers to these questions. But even when the rural guard's decisions are fully complied with, what could this mean? Does it mean full acceptance of his judgment and decisions or is it an effort to

[74] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 44, column 7.
[75] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 44, column 87.
[76] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 44, column 17.
[77] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number 51, column 55.

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avoid further personal suffering that leads them to an "immediate award of justice"? Or is it a compliant attitude towards the rural guard due to certain personal commitments?

Noteworthy are also the cases when the sufferers consent by signing to demanding no compensation, not even a high one: "For the agrarian breach recorded opposite I do not claim a compensation for the sum of 150 drachmas and have no further claims"[78]. Can this behaviour form part of a system of informal mutual understanding in the community, where law violations (mainly unintentional ones) are judged as inevitable and could thus occur to anyone? Is this an altruistic spirit in an agro pastoral society that has created "codes of behaviour" that reduce the tensions inevitable due to the existing structures? Or does this have to do with entirely personal choices unrelated to the "collective spirit" of the community? One way or another, every social subject is a recipient of the value code of the group he belongs to. An example is the conception "he is *my* relative and friend", "my own person", so "I cannot do him any harm". The feeling of *belonging* to a community deters unjust behaviour. This clearly has to do with certain mechanisms through which the community redresses imbalance.

CONCLUSION

In this study I have used the logbooks of a Naxian community warden as a potential folklore source. More specifically, in this case study, I approached "official" work incidents recorded by the particular rural guard as a narrative process involving the study of the local community. As has become obvious the particular logbooks under investigation have provided us with valuable information, *first*, on the rural guard's space of activity which has been discussed as an in-between zone, *second*, on his working daily time, which is not restricted to his official eight-hour time limit but seems to be guided by a personal "system of values", *third*, his duties and symbols of power which have stirred a discussion of the social relationships social and economic context, *fourth*, his social representations as a person of high-standing position in their community, and, *finally*, on the aspects of delinquency in the particular area, which provides valuable information about the nutrition, economic and social identity of the village.

Therefore, in the case of the present work, the *direct* and *indirect* narration of incidents in the particular logbooks that occurred in the community life constitutes valuable material for a comparative *emic* study of the organisational aspects of the complex of the subjects' social relations, networking and motivation, and thus it constitutes a reliable folkloric resource.

[78] Chorianopoulos' logbook, number. 44, columns 21 and 22.

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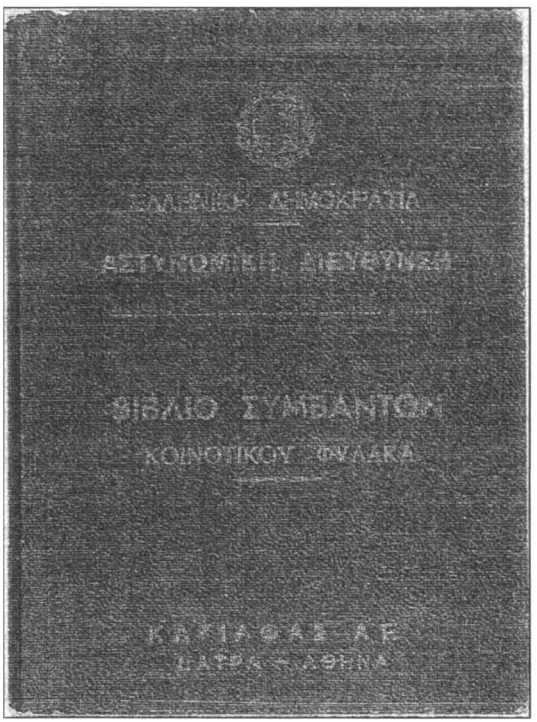
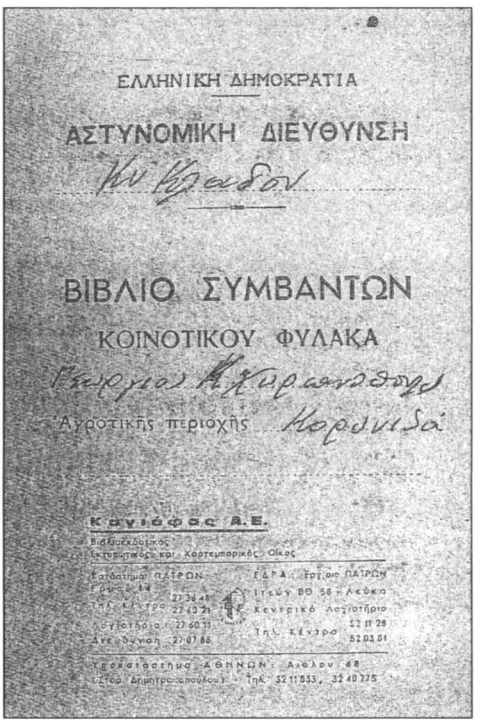
In conclusion, the logbooks of community wardens can contribute along with other folklore resources to the accurate representation of the world of rural police and the area they invigilate. Other such sources might be the study of the state legislation relevant to rural guards, the outcome of a field study with rural guards and locals acting as informants, archives-documents from older and more recent historical periods, publications in the Press, rural guards' personal diaries or autobiographical texts, the representation of their world in literature[79], cinema[80] and other forms of art, and so on. This study has limited its research to only one case which is suggested as an example for similar studies all over Greece. It goes without saying that the comparative study of such logbooks (e.g. from highlands and flat areas or island and continental areas or areas that have witnessed an intense political life and other more neutral ones) can clearly represent views of the Greek society during the particular time periods that the logbooks recorded.

APPENDIX





[79] See indicatively in the famous Greek writers Alexandros Papadiamantis (The Pinky Seashores, The Female Killer, Summer-Eros) and Ioannis Kondylakis.

[80] I mainly refer to the Greek movie *The Spring Meeting of the Rural Guards*, by Dimos Avdeliodis (1999).

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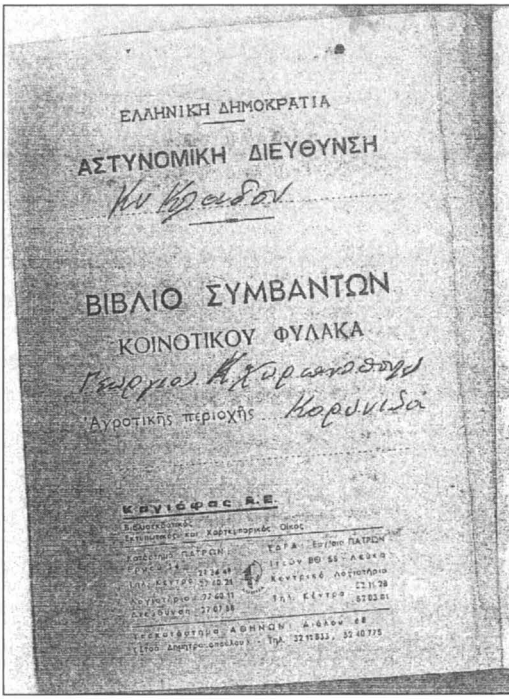

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ

ΑΣΤΥΝΟΜΙΚΗ ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΗ

Κυ Κηφισόν

ΒΙΒΛΙΟ ΣΥΜΒΑΝΤΩΝ

ΚΟΙΝΟΤΙΚΟΥ ΦΥΛΑΚΑ

Γεωργίου Καραϊσκάκη

Αγροτικής περιοχής Καρυνίδα

ΚΡΥΣΤΑΛΛΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ Α.Ε.

ΟΔΗΓΙΕΣ

ΤΗΡΗΣΕΩΣ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΥ ΣΥΜΒΑΝΤΩΝ

Το ΒΙΒΛΙΟ ΣΥΜΒΑΝΤΩΝ τηρείται υποχρεωτικώς υπό πάντων των οργάνων Αγροφυλακής (Αγροφυλάκων και Αρχιφυλάκων) σύμφωνα με τις διατάξεις του άρθρου 7 και 58 του Κ.Π.Υ.Α. ως και του άρθρου 158 παρ. 2 του Ν. Δ. 3030/54 περί Αγροφυλακής.

Το Βιβλίο αυτό πρέπει να τηρείται καθαρό και να φέρεται πάντοτε στην τσέπη του Αγροφύλακα, συμπληρωμένο και με σειρά ημερομηνίας. Στο Βιβλίο αυτό θά γράφει ο αγροφύλακας μόνο με μολύβι διαρκείας (Μπίκ).

Απαγορεύονται αυστηρώς τα σβησίματα, ξυσίματα, διαγραφές καθώς και σχίσιμο φύλλων.

92930
1992
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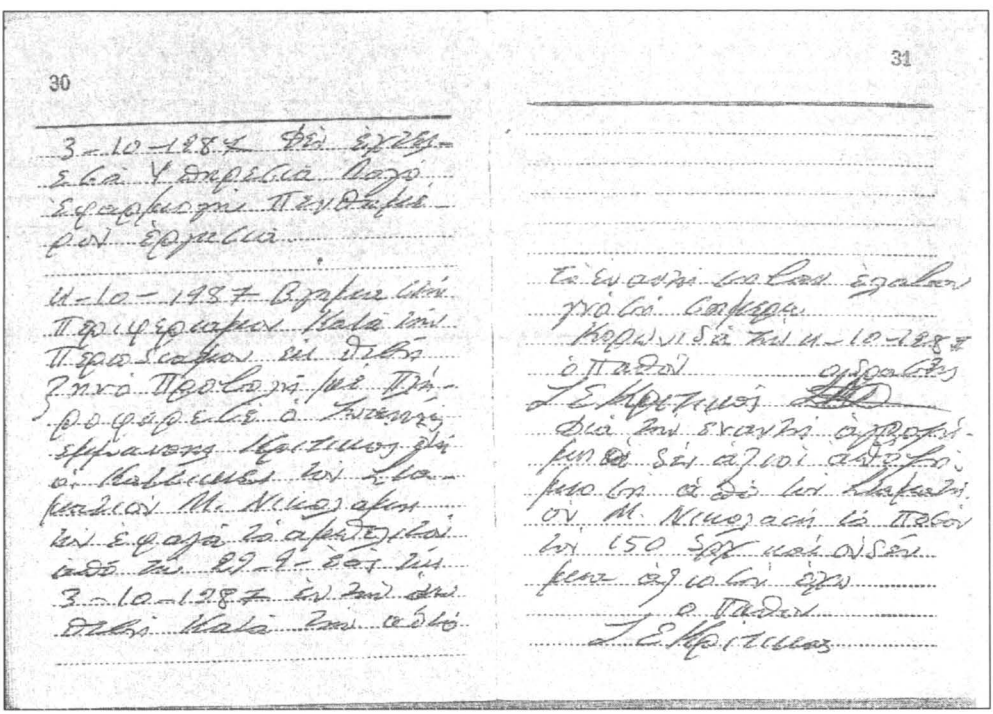

30

3-10-1987 Θα έχει-
σει ψυχρασία λαμ-
βάνοντας υπόψη
τη εφαρμογή παγωμά-
των έρχεται

4-10-1987 Βγήκε ελεύ-
θερος κατά τον
περιφρουρών κατά τον
περιφρουρών και διέ-
ξηνε πρόσωπο με πά-
ρο φορείας ο Σωτήρης
Ερμάνος Μαστίνος γιός
ο Κωνσταντίνος και Σω-
φανδρού Μ. Νικολ αφού
και έφαγε τα αρχεία
ώδε την 29-1-ου του
3-10-1987 και από
Δικαστή κατά τον αδελ-

31

Τα ανωτέρω έχουν
γράφει σωστά.
Καρυνίδα την 4-10-1987
Ο Παιδαγ
Σ. Κρητικός

Διά την ανωτέρω αγροφυ-
λακή και αξιού αντίγρα-
φο ότι δε και κατηγορή-
ον Μ. Νικολ αφού τα παρόν
και 150 δρχ και ο Σω-
φανδρού αξιώνουν
Ο Παιδαγ
Σ. Κρητικός

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VON SIEBENBÜRGISCH-SÄCHSISCHEN UND RUMÄNISCHEN TOTENKLAGEN AM ZECKESCH (VALEA SECAŞULUI), KREIS MÜHLBACH (JUD. SEBEŞ)

HELGA STEIN

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

In der deutschen Volkskunde ist eine gesungene Klage am Sarg allgemein nicht bekannt. Aus Siebenbürgen werden vereinzelt seit dem 18. Jh. und häufiger seit dem 19 Jh. Berichte und Textfragmente überliefert. Über die Melodien ist bisher nichts bekannt. 1963 konnte die Verfasserin in vier Dörfern: Gergeschdorf (Ungurei), Törnen (Păuca), Weingartskirchen (Vingard) und Busd (Boz) 12 Klagen aufnehmen. Dieses Gebiet am sog. Zeckesch (Valea Secaşului), mit seiner historischen Sonderstellung – der Abhängigkeit der rumänischen und siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Bauern von ungarischen Landherren – führte zu einer größeren Nähe der ethnischen Gruppen. Das Interesse lag bei der zweisprachigen Darbietung der sächsischen Klagenden: Anlass zum Sprachwechsel, Wahl der Motive und Unterschiede. Neben im Dialekt individuell formulierten Erinnerungen stehen bei den siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Sängerinnen auch auskristallisierte Motive und Formeln in rumänische Sprache. Weitere Untersuchungen an den wichtigsten ethnischen Gruppen in Siebenbürgen: Rumänen, Ungarn und Deutschen, lassen sowohl vom inhaltlichen als auch vom musikalischen noch interessante Aufschlüsse erwarten.

Schlüsselwörter: totenklagen, siebenbürgisch-sächsischen, ethnischen Gruppen, Zeckesch, Kreis Mühlbach.

Seit über 50 Jahren beschäftigt mich immer wieder ein Erlebnis meiner ersten Feldforschung, das ich als junge Mitarbeiterin des Klausenburger Folklore-Institutes im Mühlbacher Gebiet, am sog. Zeckesch, hatte. Ich ging damals in ein Gebiet, das sich von dem sog. Sächsischen Königsboden abhob, da hier historisch eine Abhängigkeit der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen und rumänischen Bauern von ungarischen Landherren bestanden hatte und eine kulturelle Annäherung dieser beiden ethnischen Gruppen vorauszusetzen war. Es war zu dem Zeitpunkt opportun für mich als erste hauptamtliche deutsche Volkskundlerin, besonderes Augenmerk den interethnischen Phänomenen zuzuwenden.

REF/JEF, *1–2*, p. 57–90, Bucureşti, 2015

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DAS ERLEBNIS

So kam ich im April 1963 zum ersten Mal nach Gergeschdorf (Ungurei). Ich wohnte bei einem Schulfreund, der dort Pfarrer war. Durch ihn wurde ich auf eine Beerdigung aufmerksam gemacht.

Gergeschdorf (Ungurei), 30.4.1963, - das Erlebnis (foto: Stein, H.)

Ich kam einige Zeit vor dem Eintreffen des Pfarrers am Trauerhaus an. Ganz unvorbereitet erlebte ich wie die sächsischen Frauen der Reihe nach sich weinend und singend über den offenen Sarg beugten. Machte die Klagende in ihren Gesang eine Pause und schluchzte, so schluchzte die gesamte anwesende Gemeinde mit. Die Klagen waren – soweit ich verstehen konnte –, in sächsischer Mundart, doch plötzlich – es war noch eine Frau herein gekommen – hörte ich deutlich, dass die Klagende ins Rumänische verfallen war. Das Klagen am offenen Sarg hörte auf, als der Pfarrer kam. Er betrat das Trauerhaus nicht, sondern wartete im Hof, wohin der Sarg ihm gebracht wurde. Nur bei besonders traurigen Begräbnissen, bei den sog. "Wehleichen" kam es noch im Hof zu besonderen Gefühlsausbrüchen[1].

Es war ein sehr aufregendes Erlebnis für mich, die ich ja auf zweisprachige volkskundliche Erscheinungsformen ausgezogen war. Außerdem war mir aus der deutschen Volkskunde von keiner deutschen Totenklage etwas bekannt[2].

[1] Die Auskunft über die Rolle des Pfarrers verdanke ich freundlicher Weise meinem Schulfreund Wolfgang Rehner, lange Zeit Pfarrer in Gergeschdorf. Diese Abfolge ist seit dem 19. Jh. in der Begräbnisordnung festgelegt.

[2] Aus der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters wird zwar immer wieder auf *Hildebrands Klage* als vermutlich tragischen Ausgang des *Hildebrands Liedes* verwiesen, doch kann ich bis heute keinen Zusammenhang erkennen, vor allem seit die ausgezeichnete Arbeit von Burkhardt, 1968, den Vater-Sohn-Kampf im Südslawischen Heldenlied betreffend, vorliegt und einen ganz anderen Ausgang der Begebenheit darstellt.

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Einige Tage später fand im Nachbarort eine rumänische Beerdigung statt. Die Situation empfand ich hochdramatisch. Es war eine Bullenhitze, der Sarg tropfte, der Raum voller Menschen, weinend und schnupfend. Die Frauen über den Sarg geneigt, singend, weinend, Taschentuch vor dem Mund, mit Schluchzern der gesamten anwesenden Versammlung. Obwohl ich eine fürchterliche Angst vor Toten hatte, hielt ich das Mikrofon tapfer fest. Doch eine derartige Aufnahme ist sinnlos. Man kann nachher nichts verstehen und es ist keinem Menschen zuzumuten derartige Bänder abzuschreiben. In diesem Haus war es aber kein Problem das Tonband zu benutzen, da die Trauernden so mit sich selbst beschäftigt waren, dass sie mich kaum wahrnahmen und vermutlich auch am nächsten Tag ihren Gesang nicht hätten wiedergeben können.

DIE TOTENKLAGE

Es ist ein ganz natürliches Bedürfnis der dem Toten nahestehenden mit ihnen noch zu sprechen, ihm zu danken, ihnen Fragen zu stellen, an gemeinsame Erlebnisse zu erinnern. Es sind sehr private, individuelle Äußerungen.

In unserem Fall haben wir es auch mit diesen Inhalten zu tun. Die Klage, Teil eines umfangreichen und komplizierten Trauerrituals, wird gesungen, resp. rezitativisch vorgetragen werden. Da diese vor der ganzen Gemeinschaft zur Kenntnis gebracht werden und auch gebracht werden sollen, achtet man sehr darauf, dass der Verstorbene *schön* beklagt wird. Wie Hanni Markel, meine Nachfolgerin in Klausenburg, es einige Jahre später in Törnen erleben konnte. Wie sie mir berichtete, gab es eine bestimmte Reihenfolge für die Klagenden: die Ehefrau, die Töchter, dann die andern Verwandten, Nachbarn und Freunde, usw[3].

Man kennt verschiedene Anlässe zum Klagen: Das Klagen am offenen Sarg als Teil des Begräbniszeremoniells; das Klagen am Friedhof an anderen Tagen, z.B. Sonntagen[4], Totensonntag, Jahrestagen; das Klagen in zeitlich unbestimmten Momenten, wenn es die innere Stimmung verlangt.

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[3] Galter 2013: 8: "Aus meinem ersten Jahr als Pfarrer in Jaad (Livezile) bei Bistritz kannte ich das *Klagen*. Da war es üblich, dass am Vorabend der Beerdigung die nächsten Nachbarn und Angehörigen, wenn es dunkel war, sich im Trauerhaus um den Sarg versammelten. Es brannte nur eine Kerze und bei deren Schein las ein älterer Mann die erste Zeile aus einem Lied, etwa *Wer weiß, wie nahe mir mein Ende...* Diese Zeile wurde dann von allen gesungen, bis das Lied zu Ende war. Darauf trat die Witwe des Verstorbenen herein, kniete vor dem Sarg nieder und begann *zu Klagen*. Das heißt, sie zählte alles auf, was der Verstorbene für sie und ihr ganzes Leben bedeutet hat. Dann wurde wieder ein Lied gesungen und dann kamen die Kinder, dem Alter nach, und mussten auch *klagen*, d.h. laut sagen, was der Vater ihnen bedeutet hat und ihm auch danken. Dann konnten noch weitere Verwandte zum Klagen antreten, so ferne sie das wollten. So war das *Klagen* vor einer Beerdigung am offenen Sarg im Trauerhaus, ein fester Bestandteil der Begräbnisordnung und – wie ich finde – ein sehr guter Brauch. Denn so musste sich jedes Familienmitglied mit der Frage beschäftigen: *Was hat mir der Tote bedeutet?* und war auch genötigt, den Befund in gewählten Worten auszusprechen! Also eine sehr wichtige pädagogische Angelegenheit!"

[4] Amzulescu: IWF Göttingen E 1586.

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So erfuhr H. Markel 1974 in Törnen von der Tante "einer vor Jahren aufgenommenen Halbwaise, dass diese von draußen mitgehört habe, wie *schön* das etwa achtjährige Mädchen im Zimmer, seine Mutter *geklagt* habe. Allerdings war dieses Mädchen weder damals noch später, ... auf seine, Klage(n)' ansprechbar"[5].

DAS SAMMELN

Gottlieb Brandsch, der große Sammler siebenbürgischer Volkslieder gab 1932 zu, unter anderem den "rezitativischen formelhaften Totenklagen" zu wenig Beachtung geschenkt zu haben[6].

Bereits im allgemeinen Trend des 19. Jahrhunderts entstanden auch in Siebenbürgen Sammlungen siebenbürgischer Märchen, Lieder und Bräuche. So finden sich 1865 einige Bemerkungen zu Totenklagen bei Friedrich Wilhelm Schuster. Er stellt die Situation wie folgt dar: "Leichenklagen waren früher im Sachsenlande – wie bei vielen Völkern – allgemeine Sitte. Noch jetzt sind sie nicht an allen Orten abgekommen, und es wäre angemessen auch in dieser Richtung zu sammeln...." Von echten Klagen, vermutlich wegen der Schwierigkeit des Aufzeichnens gibt er nur vier Fragmente wieder. Schuster erkennt, dass sich auch bei den Totenklagen Typen finden lassen, die Anlass zu Parodien geben, von denen er zwei als Schwänke mit Klagefragmenten wiedergibt[7].

Georg Schuller, der erste, der systematisch das siebenbürgisch-sächsische Totenbrauchtum 1865 beschreibt, berichtet über die Rolle des Sammlers: "Wenn dann so ein Sammler kommt, wie der Schreiber dieses, und nach echten schönen Klagetypen forscht, so ist es der Schalk, der Volkshumor, der sogleich bereit ist, ihm seine Kuckuckseier ins Nest zu legen, während man dagegen den unverfälschten Formeln, in welche ein schlichtes Gemüth seinen Schmerz zu kleiden pflegt, schwer genug habhaft werden kann"[8].

Ungeschickte oder unwahre Äußerungen werden von der Gemeinschaft mit scharfer Kritik verfolgt und mit Spott als rasch umgehende und langanhaltende Parodien gestraft.

Auf dieses Ausweichen auf Parodien und dem geniertem Lachen begegnet man immer wieder. Wenn man den Totenklagen nachgeht, stößt man gegenüber dem Sammler auf ein gewisses sich Verschließen der dargestellten Emotion.

Auf meinen Notizen von 1963, habe ich auch vermerkt, dass gelacht wird. Z.B. lacht die rumänische Sängerin Suciu, Maria, 27 J. aus Weingartskirchen

[5] Markel 1994: 151–152.
[6] Brandsch 1942: 103.
[7] Schuster 1865: 38, 140–141.
[8] Schuller 1865: 28.

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(Vingard) die ganze Zeit während der Aufnahme einer Klage für ihre Tante[9] und bei der Sängerin Brenner, Katharina, 50 J. aus Busd (Boz), einer Klagefrau, schwankt das Publikum zwischen Ernst und Lachen[10].

Weinen und Lachen als emotionale Ausnahmesituationen liegen grundsätzlich nahe beieinander. Wobei heutzutage bei jüngeren Leuten eine gewisse Scheu oder Scham vor derartigen Emotionen zu beobachten ist.

Leider habe ich damals in meiner Unerfahrenheit keine genaueren Angaben gemacht und keine tiefergehenden Fragen gestellt.

Anbetracht der emotionalen Ausnahmesituation, in der sich die Klagende befindet, ist die Sammlung dieses Genres besonders schwierig. Und die meisten bisherigen älteren Aufzeichnungen fragmentarisch. O. Bârlea merkt dazu an: "...das Sammeln von Klagen ist wegen ihres improvisatorischen Charakters weit schwieriger als bei anderen Gattungen – außer vielleicht bei Besprechungsformeln –: Die Klagende reiht im Moment des Klagens alles das aneinander, was ihr in den Sinn kommt, sie verbindet traditionelle Motive mit neu geschaffenen, ein Vorgang, an den sie sich nicht mehr erinnern kann, wenn sie später vom Folkloristen angeregt, wieder reproduzieren soll"[11].

Über die Schwierigkeit des Sammelns schreibt H. Markel: "*Schöne* Totenklagen waren in Törnen (Păuca) und im benachbarten Gergeschdorf (Ungurei) monatelang Gesprächsstoff. Dies verdeutlicht den hohen Anspruch an die weiblichen Hinterbliebenen als auch die kollektive Akzeptanz – und Kontrolle – in Orten, wo diese Form des innerhalb überlieferter Modelle improvisierten *Klagens* selbstverständlich war/ist. Gerade solche *Klagen* sind aber zeitverschoben viel schwerer zu dokumentieren als die von bezahlten Klageweibern verfertigten (in Busd/Boz, einem anderen Nachbarort von Törnen)..."[12]

Der Sammler wird sich also häufig auf provozierte Klagen, d.h. auf Klagen von Authentizität zweiter Hand, beschränken müssen.

Da ich damals 1963 bei der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Beerdigung in Gergeschdorf (Ungurei) vollkommen unvorbereitet war, konnte ich bei dieser Beerdigung keine Tonbandaufnahme machen und traf mich aber am gleichen Tag mit Frau Maria Mai, 56 J. die ich zweisprachig singend erlebt hatte. Nach einem einstimmenden Gespräch war sie bereit mir noch einmal zu klagen. Sie gab so wohl den deutschen Dialekttext, als auch den rumänischen Text wieder.[13] Maria Mai hatte sich am Abend vor der Beerdigung heimlich mit ihrer Tochter vorbereitet und konnte mir nun den Text z.T. vorsingen, z.T. auch noch diktieren.

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[9] AIF Cluj, Mg 799 I b vom 2.6.1963, Slg. Stein, H.

[10] AIF Cluj, Mg 803 I j vom 7.7.1963, Slg. Stein, H.

[11] Bârlea 1972:516, Anm. 8.

[12] Markel 1994: 150–152.

[13] AIF Cluj, Mg. 783 II uu: Klage für die Tante (Sbg-sächs.-rum.), Gergeschdorf (Ungurei), 30.4.19063, Slg. Stein, H.

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Außer dieser direkt betroffenen Angehörigen meldete sich in der folgenden Zeit eine Rumänin, Cornăţean, Lenuţa, geb. Lita, 38 J., die unbedingt mir ihre Klage darbieten wollte. Sie hatte sich ebenfalls für eine Beerdigung vorbereitet und dann am Sarg vorgetragen. Im Unterschied zu der ersten würden man diese als Klagefrau, also als eine die sich berufen fühlt oder auch gerufen wird, bezeichnen[14].

Heute kann die Dokumentation andere Maßstäbe setzen. Tonbandaufnahmen zu machen, ist in allen Fällen schwierig. Bei sächsischen Beerdigungen besonders, da Verwandte und Freunde immer noch sehr aufmerksam auf ihre Umgebung achten. Hanni Markel erzählte mir, dass sie in Törnen, in einem Haus, in dem sie gut bekannt war, nur durch eine kleine Durchreiche mit dem Mikrofon das Trauerzimmer erreichen konnte, um damit den Ablauf nicht zu stören. Eine Transkription dieser Aufnahme ist unmöglich[15].

Das war die Situation mit unseren technischen Möglichkeiten damals. Als Aufnahmegerät hatten wir ein Magnetofon – UHER, TESLA oder SMARAGD – was noch etwas Ungewöhnliches war. Mit den heutigen Techniken hätte man schon mehr Chancen unauffällig eine authentische Aufzeichnung zu machen.

Eine andere Schwierigkeit ergibt sich bei der Transkription der mundartlichen Aufzeichnungen. Jedes Dorf hat z.B. seinen eigenen Vokalismus, der erfasst sein will. Ich selber bin keine Dialektsprecherin, verstehe aber im Allgemeinen den Siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Dialekt recht gut. In der Schule war ich jahrelang mit zahlreichen Dialektsprechern zusammen. Meine Transkription beruhte auf der vereinfachten Wiedergabe der Eigenheiten, so wie wir sie in im Bukarester Institut gewohnt waren. Hanni Markel dagegen hatte vorher am Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen Wörterbuch gearbeitet und war selber Dialektsprecherin und konnte daher genauer auf die sprachlichen Nuancen eingehen. So unterscheiden sich unsere Transkriptionen ein und derselben Aufnahme. Die von Edith Feleki-Dengel aufgezeichneten Klagen aus Alzen, ihrem Heimatort, sind noch detaillierter und daher mit Mitteln der internationalen Transkription wiedergegeben (s. Anhang).

ZUR GESCHICHTE

Ganz aufgeregt über dieses meiner Meinung nach ungewöhnliche Erlebnis war ich damals heimgekehrt. Seither begann ich all die Jahre hindurch auf das Phänomen Totenklage zu achten. Vorbild war mir die große in FFC erschienene Arbeit von unserer Kollegin Aili Nenola-Kallio aus Turku über die karelischen Totenklagen[16].

[14] AIF Cluj Mg. 787 I a vom 3.5.1963: Klage für den Bruder, der vor 2 Jahren gestorben war, Gergeschdorf (Ungurei), Slg. Stein, H.

[15] Lt. Markel, H.: Beerdigung von Rudolf Stephani, Törnen (Păuca) am 25.3.1976.

[16] Nenola-Kallio 1982.

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Für Siebenbürgen fand ich zunächst Hinweise im Siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Wörterbuch unter den Stichworten *Klage* und *klagen*[17]. Es gibt dort auch die Bezeichnung *Klagung* für luctatio, lamentum (Glossar, Helt. 125b).

Der älteste Beleg im Wörterbuch ist von 1715, alle anderen stammen aus dem 20. Jahrhundert. Dabei wird nichts über die Form, Text oder Melodie gesagt.

Nach Fr. W. Schuster (1865) wissen wir: "Wenn die Verwandten des Toten sich nicht zur Klage begabt fühlen, lassen sie sich durch ein *Klageweib* vertreten. Manche von diesen *Klageweibern oder Klagefrauen* können in der Tat schön klagen, und nehmen in ihren halb singenden recitierten Reden zuweilen höchst überraschende und rührende Wendungen. Situation, Lage, Familienverhältnisse werden dabei auf das Beste ausgebeutet".

Die fast zu gleicher Zeit (1865) erschienene Arbeit von G. Schuller über das Totenbrauchtum steht den Aussagen Schusters bezüglich der Klagefrauen kritisch gegenüber.

Er beschreibt die Klage im Bereich des Leichenzuges. Seiner Erfahrung nach wurde nicht nur im Trauerhaus am offenen Sarg, sondern auch auf Weg zum Friedhof und auf dem Friedhof geklagt. Bei diesem öffentlichen Ereignis unterlag die Klage auch öffentlicher Kritik, ob schön oder schwach geklagt worden war, oder ob taktlose Anwendung verschiedener Formeltypen zu Spott und Ironie, resp. zu Parodie und Anekdote Anlass gaben.

Schuller geht in seinen Ausführungen auf an die 60 Totenklagen ein, davon 9 aus der näheren Umgebung des Zeckesch (Mühlbach, Unterwald), von denen 2 aus einem unserer untersuchten Dörfer, Weingartskirchen (Vingard) stammen.

Durch die immer wiederkehrende Situation in der Beziehung Verstorbener–Klagender, z.B. Mutter–Kind, Kind–Mutter, Gattin–Gatte, etc. stellt Schuller bestimmte Klagetypen auf, die man prinzipiell auf Elternklage, Kindesklage, Gattenklage, Freundesklage zusammenfassen könnte. Es ergeben sich aus der Wiederholung der Situation Formeln: wie die Anrufung des Verstorbenen: "Hannes, lieber, Hannes"; "Mutter, Mutter"; die Frage: Wie soll es nun weitergehen? Daraus ergibt sich die Bitte an den Toten nicht fortzugehen oder wiederzukommen. Vor allem ist es Dank der Kinder an die Eltern, sowie Grüße an bereits Verstorbene. Die Liste der Formeln lässt sich bei Schuller noch um ein Vieles vermehren. Leider gibt G. Schuller nur bei wenigen seiner Beispiele den Ort an, nur wenn er darin ein linguistisches Interesse sieht. Gar nichts sagt er über die Melodie[18].

[17] Sbg-sächs. Wb. 1975: 156–157. Die Totenklage und das Klagen am Grab werden gesondert aufgeführt. Für Totenklage z.B. "alə disz klōgŋ šnitn ər änt harts" (Kommass. 9) (alle diese Klagen schnitten ihr ins Herz) oder im Sinne von trauernd beklagen, beweinen: "Vor Johann Schneiderin weil sie auf der leichen /Begräbnis/ garstig geklaget" (1715, Kbl. 12, 122) oder "dae motər klōt gefaefol" (um 1900 Tekendorf)/ die Mutter klagt gefühlvoll/oder "huad ər gəhuirt wai heš dət Suszkə sinə šwōgər hąt gəklūt" (um 1900 Schog., auch 1930 Katz)/ habt ihr gehört wie schön die Suszka ihren Schwager geklagt hat. Als Parodie wird folgende Formal angesehen: "də klōkə selən dih klōn, də meōrə selən dih treōrən" (RS)/ die Glocken sollen dich klagen, die Mauern sollen dich trauern.

[18] Schuller 1865: 27–39.

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Eine interessante Arbeit über Brauchtum entlang des Lebens liefert der Gymnasialprofessor J.M. Gassner 1902 aus Mettersdorf, Nordsiebenbürgen[19]. Im Rahmen des Totenbrauchtums gibt er an, dass das Klagen von den Frauen besorgt werde. Charakteristisch sei für die Mettersdorfer, dass bei der Totenwache, aber auch am Grabe viel in hochdeutscher Sprache geklagt werde, wobei Gesangsbuchlieder (z.B. "Alles geht zu seinem Ende"), sowie eigene Texte vorgetragen werden. Seines Erachtens habe die Klage keine typische Form. Zwei seiner Varianten beginnen mit einem hochdeutschen Drei- resp. Vierzeiler und gehen dann in die freie Gestaltung in Mundart über. Obwohl offensichtlich der vollständige Text wiedergegeben wird, ist auch hier nichts über die Melodie gesagt.

Auch Adolf Schullerus geht 1926 auf die Klagen ein. Leider spricht er allgemein, über das was beim Begräbnis geschieht oder zu geschehen hat, ohne jeglichen Hinweis, woher seine diesbezüglichen Kenntnisse stammen. So weit uns bisher bekannt ist, wird in den letzten Stunden vor dem Eintreffen des Pfarrers im Sterbehaus geklagt. Schullerus gibt jedoch an, dass dieses nach dem Heraustragen des Sarges in den Hof geschehe. Auch er erwähnt, dass über das Klagen auch viel gelächelt wurde, da sich dass Gemüt der Bauern nur schwer und scheu vor den andern erschließt. Seine sieben Beispiele kommen aus Alzen (Alţina) im Harbachtal, aus Großscheuern (Şura mare) bei Hermannstadt und aus Reußen (Ruşi)[20].

Erst 1963 beschäftigt sich W. Suppan[21] mit diesem Thema, ausgehend von einer Freiburger Aufzeichnung von J. Künzig und W. Werner aus dem Jahre 1961, die als Fragment einer siebenbürgischen Totenklage angesehen wurde, ohne anzugeben, woher die nun in Süddeutschland lebende Siebenbürgerin wirklich stammte. Eine Umfrage bei siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Vertretern des Kulturlebens ergab nur einen ausführlichen Bericht des Pfarrers Hofgräff über Totenklagen, die er zwischen 1922–1932 in Neudorf bei Schäßburg beobachtet hatte[22].

Desweiteren geht Suppan als erster auf die Melodie der Klage und auf den Forschungsstand seiner Zeit, wie C. Brăiloiu, B. Rajecki, R. Wolfram u.a. ein und

[19] Gassner 1902: 88-90, betr. Totenklagen. Csallner 1965: 87-88.

[20] Schullerus 1926: 130–131.

[21] Suppan 1963: 18-24.

[22] Suppan 1963: 20: Pfr. Hofgräff an Suppan, 30.5.1962.(Pfr. Hofgräff war später im Reener Gebiet, Nordsiebenbürgen tätig, wo ebenfalls geklagt wurde. S. AIF Cluj: 5 Aufnahmen von H. Markel, um 1966.) Er schreibt unter anderem: "...Wenn sie einmal unterblieb, schwand viel von der Vollwertigkeit der ganzen Feier. Nur in den Fällen, in denen bekannt war, dass es in Ehe und Familienleben nicht mustergültig aussah, scheute man sich, vor die wartenden Gemeindemitglieder zu treten und zu klagen. Die Klagen wurden nicht gesungen, sondern in klagendem Ton, unter vielen Tränen, sehr oft in leidenschaftlicher Bewegung bis in hysterische Steigerung hinein vorgebracht, wobei die Klagende über den Sarg (ihn umarmend) lag... Ich habe mich bemüht, die Totenklage auf das Notwendigste oder besser gesagt auf das Unvermeidliche einzuschränken. Eine vollständige Abschaffung wäre nicht möglich gewesen".

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erkennt, dass das aufgezeichnete Lied textmäßig mit einem Sterbelied des Johann Georg Albinus von 1652 zusammenhängt. Musikalisch sucht er nach Vergleichen auf dem Gebiet Rumäniens, Ungarns und Korsikas. Die Aufzeichnung ist jedoch keine Totenklage im Sinne unserer Sammlungen.

Weitere interessante Aufnahmen machte 1963 Gh. Sulițeanu[23] vom Folklore-Institut Bukarest in Klein-Blasendorf (Blăjel), Siebenbürgen. Mit Hilfe ihrer Jiddisch-Kenntnisse und der im Bukarester Folklore-Institut üblichen Transkription versuchte sie den siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Dialekt wiederzugeben. Außerdem ließ sie sich von der Gewährsfrau den Text auch in Mundart aufschreiben, wobei kleine Abweichungen zu vermerken sind. Die Gewährsfrau klagte anschließend den gleichen Text auf Rumänisch, mit dem Hinweis, dass die Melodie in etwa die gleiche sei. Das Klagen in der zweiten Sprache mache sie wegen der anwesenden rumänischen Freunde[24]. Als Musikethnologin vertrat auch sie, ebenso wie W. Suppan die Meinung, dass es sich um antike Melodien handeln müsse.

Je mehr ich mich umhörte, umso mehr Informationen bekam ich, meistens leider nur zufällig oder nebenbei. So z.B. erfuhr ich während der Ausarbeitung dieses Referates, dass die Grenzen des Verbreitungsgebietes oft sehr scharf verlaufen. In Großpold (Apold) bei Hermannstadt, wäre in den Jahren um 1970 eine Totenklage undenkbar gewesen, während sie im Nachbardorf Drobing (Dobîrca) durchaus normal war[25].

Eine sehr umfangreiche Diplomarbeit *Zur Soziologie des Volksgesanges in Alzen (Alțina) im Harbachtal (Valea Hârtibaciului)* hat Edith Dengel (heute Feleki-Dengel) 1980 unter der Leitung von Michael Markel an der Universität Babeş-Bolyai Klausenburg (Cluj), am Lehrstuhl für Philologie, Abt. Deutsch-Englisch eingereicht. Die darin enthaltenen acht Klagen geben wir im Anhang wieder. Zu dem gleichen Liedmaterial hat ihre Landsmännin Marianne Galbacs sich mit den Melodien beschäftigt und als Diplomarbeit beim Konservatorium in Klausenburg ebenfalls 1980 hinterlegt.

MEINE SAMMLUNG 1963

Meine Aufnahmen fanden im April und Juli 1963 statt. Leider musste ich die Arbeit plötzlich abbrechen, da die Nachricht kam, unsere Ausreise nach Deutschland sei genehmigt worden und wir hätten das Land innerhalb von drei Monaten zu verlassen.

Diese meine erste selbstständigen Feldforschung führte mich an den sog. Zeckesch (Valea Secaşului), in der Nähe von Mühlbach (Sebeş), in die Dörfer

[23] Sulițeanu 1990: 133–187.

[24] IEF Bukarest, Mg 3416 und Mg 3417. Klage für eine Freundin, Katharina Klein, 20.2.1968 in Kleinblasendorf (Blăjel), Slg. Gh. Sulițeanu.

[25] Mündliche Mitteilung von Pfr. Wolfgang Rehner, Hermannstadt (Sibiu), 14.6.2014.

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Gergeschdorf (Ungurei), Törnen (Păuca), Busd (Boz) und Weingartskirchen (Vingard) und brachten u.a. zwölf mit dem Tonband aufgezeichnete, provozierte Totenklagen: vier sächsische, vier rumänische und vier gemischtsprachliche. Die rumänischen Sängerinnen klagten nur rumänisch, während die sächsischen neben ihre Muttersprache, d.h. siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Dialekt, auch gemischtsprachlich klagen konnten. Meine Nachfolgerin im Amte Hanni Markel hatte bis in die Jahre 1973 die Möglichkeit weitere Klagen ebenfalls aus dem Zeckesch sowie fünf Klagen auch aus dem Reener Gebiet (*Reghinul săsesc*) in Nordsiebenbürgen zu sammeln[26].

Nachdem ich durch die Teilnahme an der einen Beerdigung in Gergeschdorf (Ungurei) auf die Klagen aufmerksam geworden war, konnte ich nun nur durch gezieltes Nachfragen außerhalb des Begräbnisrituals die Klagen provozieren.

Maria Mai, 54 Jahre, Gergeschdorf (Ungurei) 30.4.1963 (foto: Stein. H.).

[26] Markel 1977: 349-358. In chronologischer Folge: AIF Cluj Mg1040 r, 1041 I j, 1041 II m – Törnen (Păuca), Kr. Sebeş; Mg.1279 p, r – Obereidisch (Ideciul de Sus); Mg 1463 II c – Bootsch (Bartoş); Mg. 1570 II b, c – Zepling (Dedrad); Mg. 2064 II m, o – Ludwigsdorf (Logig) – alle Kr. Mureş; Mg 2094 I l – Weißkirchen bei Bistritz (Albeşti); Mg. 2094 II d (Parodie), 2095 II d, e – Großeidau (Viile Tecii), Mg. 2112 II d, 2113 I f, 2113 II a, 2115 I d – Billak (Domneşti), Mg. 2159 I h, 2159 II e – Großschogen (Şieu); Mg 2161 I e, 2161 II a – Paßbusch (Posmuş), Mg. 2275 II n (Parodie), 2275 II z, 2276 I d (allg. Information) – Lechnitz (Lechinţa), Mg 2276 II o – St. Georgen (Sângeorziu Nou) – alle Kr. Bistritz-Năsăud; Mg 2535 I d, g – Marpod, Kr. Hermannstadt (Sibiu); Mg. 2324 II m-z, 2325 I b, c, 2236 I a (1-8), 2326 II d,e – Törnen (Păuca), Kr. Sebeş.

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Mit meiner ersten Gewährsfrau Maria Mai, 54 J., die sog. Fichomaichen, kam ich noch am selben Tage, nach der Beerdigung am 30.4.1963 zusammen. Sie hatte am Sarg ihrer Tante zunächst auf sächsisch geklagt und war dann plötzlich ins Rumänische verfallen. Sie wollte, dass die rumänische Nachbarin, die in das Trauerhaus gekommen war, auch verstehen sollte. Der Sohn der Verstorbenen lebte in Deutschland und war bei der Beerdigung nicht dabei. Sie sang und diktierte mir die Texte. Beide Texte waren inhaltlich sehr ähnlich, aber nicht identisch. Ich gebe daher beide Texte im Original und auf Hochdeutsch wieder:

Klage für die Tante

Gesungen:

O, Maun, de Kloke klonje.	*O, Tante, die Glocken läuten*
Et gäiht nau en Uewschäid båld,	*Es geht nun zum Abschied bald,*
Uch der Gel as nōch net kun!	*Und der Gel (Georg) ist noch nicht gekommen!*
Gelo kamm, no kamm erun-u!	*Gelo komm, komm heran,*
Ower huet er, menj Gelo	*Aber hat er, menj Gello,*
Nichen Telefon-Nummer-o,	*Keine Telefonnummer,*
Dåt hī mer nouch net as kunn?	*Dass er noch nicht gekommen ist?*
Kamm, Majo, menj Frandjan-o,	*Komm Majo, meine Freundin,*
Kamm, Majo, uch kamm Suso,	*Komm, Majo, auch komm, Suso,*
Kamm, bedunk dich uch īmol	*Komm bedank dich auch einmal...*

Diktiert:

Und ai vil Hundjgraw-o,	*Für die vielen Handgriffe,*
Uch am dat gaut Motterherz-o,	*Auch für das gute Mutterherz,*
Net e jeder käon et hun	*Nicht jeder kann es haben,*
Esi mer uch kenne roffe	*So können wir rufen*
Diene sessen Numen Motter-o!	*diesen süßen Namen Mutter!*

Gesungen rumänisch:

Mătuşa, dragă, o, mătuşa dragă mea!	*Tante liebe, o, Tante, meine liebe!*
Roagă-te de clopotariu,	*Bitte den Klöckner,*
Să tragă clopotele-o,	*Er soll die Glocken läuten,*
Să răsune dealurile,	*Sie sollen klingen über die Berge,*
Să sune în Germania-o,	*Sie sollen läuten in Deutschland,*
Să-ţi vie copii tatii.	*Dass deine lieben Kinder kommen.*
Hai Gelo, dar hai curînd-u,	*Komm, Gelo, aber komm bald,*
Că maicuţa ta dulce	*Denn deine süße Mutter*
Pleacă astăzi la mormînt-u	*Geht heute zum Grabe*
Şi tu cînd îi mai veni	*Und wenn du kommst wirst,*
Maicuţa nu-i mai găsi...	*Wirst du deine Mutter nicht mehr finden...*

Gesungen sächsisch:

...Maune-lo, verzoat mer, Goldä,,	*Tante, verzeiht mir, goldige,*

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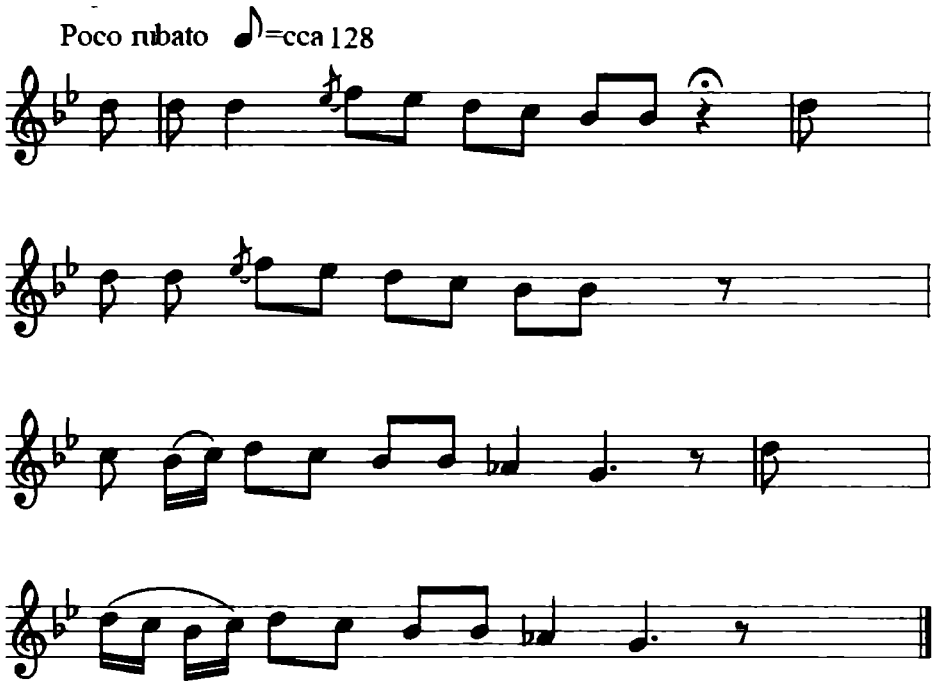
Well ech (mer) eru bä kun,
Ir wasst mer 't gaut, Maun-o,
Diktiert:
Dåt ech vil Kommer hun
Gesungen:
Dåt ech mer uch gedrackt bän...

Weil ich herüber gekommen bin,
Ihr wisst es ja gut,
Dass ich viel Kummer habe,
Dass ich auch bedrückt bin...[27]

Dabei zeigt sich, dass sie das rumänische Formelrepertoire gut beherrscht. So ist z.B. das Motiv der Glocken im rumänischen Volkslied weit verbreitet:

...Trageți, crîsnici, clopotele
Să răsune dealurile,
Să adune neamurile...

...Glöckner, lasst die Glocken läuten
Dass die Täler erklingen
Dass sich die Verwandten sammeln...[28]

Oder:
...Sunați clopotele cu jele
Duceți veste maicii mele...

...Läutet Glocken mit Jammer
Bringt meiner Mutter die Nachricht...[29]

[27] AIF Cluj Mg783 II uu, Maria Mai, 54 J. Gergeschdorf/Ungurei, 30.4.1963, Slg. Stein, H.
[28] Şerb 1962: 104.
[29] Lazăr 1969: 111, Nr. 87.

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Das in Siebenbürgen im Rumänischen weit verbreitete Motiv[30] verlangt stets, der Glöckner solle läuten und den Verwandten Kunde geben. Im Siebenbürgisch-sächsischen sind die Glocken allein, die die traurige Nachricht bis nach Deutschland zu den fernen Kindern bringen sollen.

Eine zweite Klage für ein junges Mädchen beginnt meine Gewährsfrau Mai, Maria auf rumänisch und endet auf sächsisch:

Klage für die Freundin:

/:Hăi, tu, Trenjo, floare înflorită,:/	*O Trenjo, erblühte Blume*
/:Hăi, ca din grădină săditǎ,:/	*Wie in den Garten gesetzt,*
/: Hăi, ce stai, dragă, supărată,:/	*Was bist du, Liebe, so bekümmert?*
/: Hăi, doar ce eşti aşa gătată?:/	*Wofür hast du dich bereitgemacht?*
/:Hăi, De deschideţi ochşorii:/	*Mach die Äuglein auf,*
/:Hăi, Ca-ţi vin fete şi feciorii:/	*Denn es kommen Mädchen und Burschen*
/:Hăi, Cu cununi cu floricele!:/	*Mit Kränzen von Blumen!*
/:Hăi, Că, vai doamne, ce mai jele!:/	*Aber, weh Herr, welch ein Jammer!*
/:Hăi, Da în loc să hi fost mireasă:/	*Statt dass du eine Braut gewesen,*
/:Hăi, Ţi-ai căutat o altă casă:/	*Hast du dir ein anderes Haus gewählt,*
/:Hăi, O casa pe loc pustii:/	*Ein Haus auf einem öden Platz.*
/:Hăi, La părinti să nu mai vii,:/	*Zu den Eltern kommst du nicht mehr,*
/:Hăi, Nij la fraţi, nij la surori,:/	*Weder zu Brüdern, noch zu Schwestern,*
/:Hăi, şă-ti umpli casa cu dor-u.:/	*Und du füllst das Haus mit Sehnsucht.*
Sagt: - Det blēsch as na um Onjd!	Sagt: -Das Rumänische ist nun zu Ende!
/:Hăi, O, Tino, menj Frandjan-o,:/	*O Tino, meine Freundin*
/:Hăi, O, wier huet dir dette gəuhnt:/	*O, Wer hätte das erahnt,*
/:Hăi, Dåt ta mer uch, galda menj-o:/	*Dass du mir auch, meine Goldige,*
/:Hăi, Vir er Wäoch uch häim bast kunn:/	*Vor einer Woche auch heim kommen bist.*
/: Te sällst uch äist noch äist, Tine-lo:/	*Du sollst nun noch einmal, Tine-lo,*
An de Kirch gōn uch Tine-lo	*In die Kirche gehen, Tine-lo*
An de Kirch gōn uch noch imōl, Tine-lo	*In die Kirche gehen noch einmal, Tine-lo!*
/:Hăi, Dro bast te mer uch z'haus kunn:/	*Dann bist du mir nach hause gekommen*
Hăi, En huest mer gesōt, Tino,	*Und hast mir gesagt, Tino,*
en host mer esi gesot, Tino,	*Und hast mir so gesagt, Tino:*
/:Hăi, Kamm, Majo, menj Frandjan-o:/	*Komm, Majo, meine Freundin,*
/:Hăi, Låss mer zem Ihme gōn-o:/	*Lass und zum Ohm (Onkel) gehen,*
Hăi, Dott mer es zesummen-o uch uëinien,	*Dass wir uns zusammen aufnehmen,*
Maje-lo	*Majo*

[30] Bârlea 1972: 509-581. Hier umfassende Hinweise zur Rolle und Verbreitung der einzelnen Motive in der rumänischen Totenklage in Siebenbürgen.

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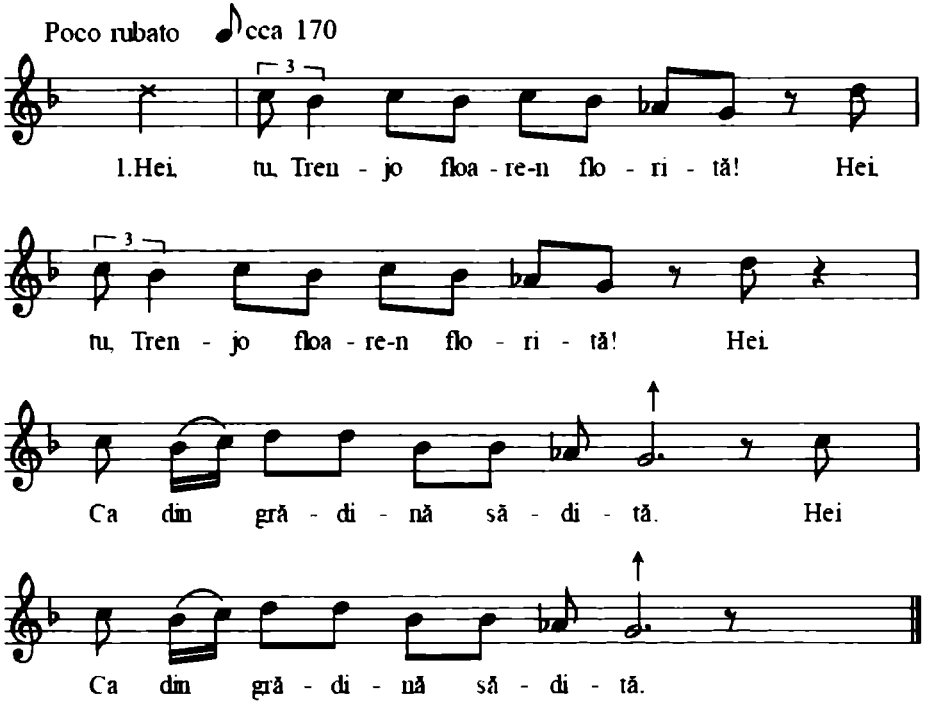
Hăi, Uch ueiniën nuch, Maje-lo! *Auch noch aufnehmen (Foto), Maje-lo*
Hăi, Dout såll zer Erannrunk sen-o! *Das soll zur Erinnerung sein!*[31]

Mg 786 I b:



Zur Aufzeichnung sagte mir die Sängerin weinend, das Mädchen sei vor vier Jahren gestorben und sie erinnere sich noch gut daran. Beim Abhören beurteilte sie sich selbst, dass sie "so schön klage".

Auch eine andere Sängerin, Katharina Brenner, 50 J. aus Busd (Boz) kommt mit der sächsischen und rumänischen Formulierung gut zurecht. Auch sie begründet die Zweisprachigkeit ebenfalls mit der Anwesenheit der rumänischen Nachbarn.

Die Vorstellung, dass die Scheidenden im Jenseits andere Verwandte treffen werden, finden wir sowohl in der rumänischen wie auch in der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Klage. Dem bereits früher Verstorbenen, Mutter oder Vater, soll berichtet werden, was inzwischen zu Hause alles geschehen ist, gewissermaßen als ein Antwort auf die bei anderer Gelegenheit gestellten Frage, was nach den Abschied mit der Familie, den Kindern, geschehen soll. Tiefe Trauer verlangt auch,

[31] AIF Cluj Mg 786 I b, Maria Mai, 50 J., Gergeschdorf/Ungurei, 30.4.1963, Slg. Stein, H.; Texttranskription Markel, H., Melodietranskription: Gergely, Z., 2014, AIF Cluj.

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dass der Scheidende wiederkomme und die sich überfordert fühlende Hinterbliebene holen möge. Nach O.Bârlea sind diese Motive in Siebenbürgen häufig zu finden, während sie im Rest des Rumäniens selten erscheinen[32].

Klage für den Ehemann::

Maio, Maio, golda menj,	*Maio, Maio (Maria, Maja), golden mein,*
wunn tau, Galden, u wist (dor?) kunn,	*wenn du, Golden (Liebe) ankommen wirst,*
[en?] wid menj Gallo viur dech kunn,	*wird mein Gallus (?)/Golden dich erwarten*
sō em, Galdeno, esi:	*sag ihm, Goldene, so:*
/:E huet mech, Galden, zer Quuel gelassen	*Er hat mich, Golden, zur Qual (hier) gelossen:/*
e huet mich met droen gelossen:	*er hat mich mit dreien gelassen:*
Er huet mich met senjer Motter,	*Er hat mich mit seiner Mutter,*
met senjem Vueter gelossen.	*mit seinem Vater gelassen,*
E huet mer senje Vueter zer Quuel gelossen	*Er hat mir seinen Vater zur Qual gelassen*
/: Sō em , Majo, nuch imol (?)	*Sag ihm, Maio, noch einmal,*
e sil, Galden, net leng wuerde,	*er solle, Goldene, nicht lange warten,*
e sell uch no mir kunn,	*er soll auch "nach mir kommen" (mich holen).*
/:Wo er net no mir, mer no senjem Vueter:/	*Wenn nicht mich, (vielleicht) seinen Vater,*
di äs en schwer Bïerd.	*der ist eine schwere Bürde.*
Sagt: Et äs fertich!	Es ist fertig![33]

Klage für den Ehemann:

Ei /: Gallo, Gallo[34] *uch Nummen-o :/*	*Ei ,Galla, Galla, und Namen-o,*
wu ,tau mir, Galdan-o, u' wirst kunn- o	*Wenn du mir, Goldener, mir kommen wirst*
/: en' wird menj Motter viur dich kunn[35]*:/*	*/:Wird meine Mutter Dir entgegenkommen,:/*
/: gäw dich, Galden-o, ze erkennen, o!:/	*gib Dich, Goldener-o , zu erkennen*
/: Soţu n'eu şi dragu n'eu:/	*/:Gatte mein und Lieber mein,:/*
Un'e, dragă, te-ai gătat?	*wohin, Lieber, hast du dich bereitet ?*
/:Te-ai gătat de altă ţară.:/	*/:du hast dich bereitet für ein ander' Land.:/*
Când în ţară n'i tuna	*Wenn Du (mir) ins Land ankommen*
Şi de maicuţa-n'i îi da,	*und mein Mütterchen antreffen wirst,*
Spune-i, dragă, şi tu aşa:	*dann sage (auch) du ihr, Lieber, so:*
Să mai vie după vii,	*Sie solle noch zu den Lebenden kommen*
Să n'e mai povesti,	*damit wir uns bereden können,*
Soţu n'eu, dragu n'eu.	*Mein Gatte, mein Lieber!*

[32] Bârlea 1972: 517.

[33] AIF Cluj Mg 803 1 j: Klage für den Ehemann; Inf.: Brenner Katharina, 50 J.in Busd (Boz) Kr. Mühlbach (Sebeş). Slg. Stein, H., 7.VII 1963, Texttranskription: Markel, H.

[34] Markel, H.: Galdan-er/-et, verkürzt Galla – Kosenamen allgemein, für Kinder besonders, Anrede für Jüngere (stellvertretend für die Gegend: An Temen sen de Kandj *galdan, guldij*).

[35] Markel, H.: Viur dich kunn – dir entgegenkommen.

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Sagt: Na, fertig[36]

Zum Schluss kommentiert sie ihre Klage zufrieden: "Das ist fein!"

Nach Meinung der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Sängerinnen war es leichter auf rumänisch als im eigenen Dialekt zu klagen. Die rumänischen Texte enthalten Vergleiche, Reihungen, Antithesen, wie z.B. den Vergleich mit der Blume im Garten, dem schön geschmückten Mädchen, usw. Sie sind reim- und rhythmisch flüssiger. Sie benützen formelmäßig das, was M. Pop "das künstlerische Arsenal des Volkes" nannte, Formeln, die im rumänischen epischen und lyrischen Lied so oder ähnlich häufig zu finden sind.

Nur eine einzige siebenbürgisch-sächsische Sängerin, von denen, die ich angetroffen habe, klagt nur in ihrer Mundart, während alle anderen mit Leichtigkeit die Sprache wechseln[37]. Die rumänischen Sängerinnen können das nicht, zu mindest tun sie es nicht.

Bezüglich des Sprachwechsels während der Klage schreibt mir auch der ungarische Kollege Gergely, Zoltan aus Klausenburg: "Der Wechsel der Sprache während des Klagens ist in Dörfern mit gemischter Bevölkerung häufig anzutreffen. Bei der Feldforschung hatte ich auch Gelegenheit es sogar bei meiner Großmutter zu hören. Wenn eine Person klagt, dann hat das Klagen eine derart starke emotionale Wirkung auf die Person, die klagt und wenn ihr nun beim Klagen die ungarischen Worte fehlen, fährt sie auf rumänisch fort. Sie kann manchmal ihren Schmerz oder das, was sie fühlt auf rumänisch besser ausdrücken als auf ungarisch oder umgekehrt"[38].

D. Lazăr formuliert bezüglich der Charakteristik der rumänischen Totenklage in Südsiebenbürgen, Banat und Oltenia: Der *Bocet* oder auch *Cântec de mort* oder *Cântec la mort* kann auf Grund der Improvisation zu langen Poemen des Schmerzes werden, in denen sich Elemente aus dem Leben des Verstorbenen mit den Empfindungen der Hinterbliebenen mischen[39].

Der sächsische Text erzählt vorwiegend Ereignisse aus dem Leben des Verstorbenen oder Erlebnisse mit dem Verstorbenen. Bei der Klage um das früh verstorbene junge Mädchen handelt es sich um die letzte Begegnung der Sängerin. In anderen Fällen wird erwähnt: Der Vater war lange krank und hat nach diesem und jenem gerufen[40], oder die Mutter hat die Last getragen, als sie klein waren und

[36] AIF Cluj Mg 803 I k, Brenner, Katharina, 50 J., Busd (Boz), 7.7.1963, Slg. Stein, H., Textkorrektur: Markel, H.

[37] AIF Cluj, Mg, 800 I b; Inf. Bogesch, Katharina, 47 J. aus Weingartskirchen (Vingard), 3.7.1963, Slg. Stein, H.

[38] Gergely, Z., schriftlich aus Klausenburg, am 5.2.2015.

[39] Lazăr 1969: 13.

[40] AIF Cluj Mg 786 I a, Maria Mai, Gergeschdorf/Ungurei, 30.4.1963, Slg. Stein, H.

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weder Vater noch Mutter hatten. (die vermutlich deportiert waren) [41]Der Dialektext wirkt spröder, holpriger. Dennoch bestehen auch hier Formeln, die allerdings im deutschen Volkslied nicht gängig sind, z.B.:

Kommt, Schwäger, kommt herbei
Kommt, ihr Kinder, kommt alle,
Und bedankt euch einmal....

In den sächsischen wie auch in den rumänischen Klagen geht jeder Sequenz, die etwas über den Toten aussagt, ein Anrufen des Toten voran, resp. eine Aufforderung an die Kinder oder Freunde sich beim Toten zu bedanken. Bei der Elternklage wird das "mein" besonders betont "Mein Vater meiner" oder "Mutter, goldene". Bei anderen Verwandten und Freunden wird stets der Name genannt.

Alle Verse werden wiederholt und durch Füllsilben am Anfang, z.B. "Hei" oder "O" und am Ende bei den Sächsischen "O" bei den rumänischen auch durch "u" ergänzt, was für die melodische Gestaltung sicher eine Rolle spielt. Auch im Inneren des Satzes sind Füllwörter zu finden: z.B. "...Dat hi *mer* nouch net as kun...", "...An de Kirch gōn *uch* noch mol..." Sequenzen von 4–10 Zeilen bilden eine inhaltliche Einheit, die beim Klagen am offenen Sarg durch Schluchzer unterbrochen werden und in der Melodietransskription durch Pfeile angezeigt sind (↓). Dann folgen neue Anrufe und die neue inhaltliche Sequenz.

Klage für den guten Nachbarn:

Kut, Schwējeran, kut-ərun-u	Kommt, Schwägerin, kommt herbei,
ə , kut, Schwējeran, kut-ərun-u	Kommt, Schwägerin, kommt herbei,
/: ən, ənd kut mər, ir Kanjd, kuət guər-u.:/	Und kommt mir, ihr Kinder, kommt alle
/: ən end bədunkt –Icht uch, gāldano:/	Und bedank Euch auch, Goldene,
/: ə , kēn Irən uch Vuəterō ! :/	*Bei Eurem Vater (auch)!*
/: hə, ' llein-uch kēn Ir Muətero! :/	*Allein auch bei Eurer Mutter,*
/: hə, sai huət jo də Lost gədrōn – o! :/	Sie hat die Last getragen
/: hə, dinkt nor, dinkt, ir Kanjd, uch, o! :/	Denkt, nur denkt, ihr Kinder, auch
/: hə, zwäi Gohr, dai wōrən uch lunk, o :/	Zwei Jahre waren auch lang,
/: hə, lunk uch schwēr uch, Gālda menj, o :/	Lang und schwer auch, meine Goldene,
/:hə, wevəlmol huət-ə gərofə :/	Wieviele Male hat sie grufen,
/: ən, əist dessem, əist genem-o:/	*Mal diesem , mal jenem,*
/: ən, uch ir wort mər guər uch far –o:/	*Doch Ihr wart alle fern*
/: ən, an dər Friemd əramer –o :/	*In der Fremde herum.*
/: hə, kut Schwējeran-o, kut , Gālda! :/	*Kommt, Schwägerin, kommt, Goldene,*

[41] AIF Cluj Mg. 800 I b, Kath. Bogesch, 47 J., Weingartskirchen/Vingard, 3.7.1963, Slg. Stein, H.

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/: ən, and spreicht mər uch, wait-ər kennt, o:/
/: hə, and kālt-Īch dət Harz uch, o!:/
/: hə, ich weiß mər ət jo uch gaut-o:/
/: hən, dott – ət – ich braiht, wāi ən Kihl – oh! :/
/: hən, Ihmelō, verzuət mər, Gālda, :/
/: hə, wiel ich əru ba kun – o:/
/: hə, llein dət Harz huət ət mər dō
ən əsi gīən uch Ihmələ.:/
Sagt: Fartig!

Es folgt diktierter Text:

Kut Schwëijrän, kut erun,
Kut mer, ir Kanjd, kut gur
Und bedunkt ech nuch īmōl.
Kēn Īren ... Vuetero
...uch kēn Īr Mutero,
Sai huet jo de Last gedrōn
Dinkt, nor dinkt, ir kanjdjen-o
Zwē Gohr uch dae wueren lung,
Wevel mol huet hi geroffe,
Eist dessem, eist genem-ō
Uch ir wuərt mer net ze foinje,
Ir wuert mer uch gaor zerstroat,
Gur wort ir in der Fremd eramem
....
Ihmelō, uch Ihmelō
Nor schlōt aw Īr ōchelō,
En sāt mer uch ameranj
De Bur dai as ich gekrūst (?)
Hat de Onkeltjer uch dai Kainjd
Hat Maunen uch mōl alt Frendj,
Verzoat mer, menj Īhmelō,
Wel ich mir əru bä kun.
Ech hun mich verflicht gefält.
Det Harz huet et mir esi gien[42].

Und sprecht wie Ihr könnt
Und kühlt Euch das Herz.
Ich weiß es ja auch gut,
Dass es Euch brennt, wie eine Kohle,
Ihmelo, verzeiht mir, Goldene,
Dass ich herüber gekommen bin,
Allein das Herz hat es mir so
So gegeben, Ohm. (Muhme?)
Fertig!

Es folgt diktierter Text:

Kommt, Schwägerin, kommt herbei
Kommt, ihr Kinder, kommt alle
Und bedankt euch noch einmal.
Gegenüber (bei) eurem Vater
und gegenüber (bei) eurer Mutter.
Sie hat ja die Last getragen.
Dankt, nur dankt, ihr Kinder,
Zwei Jahre, die waren lang
Wieviele Male hat er gerufen,
Einmal diesem, einmal jenem
Und ihr ward mir nicht zu finden,
Und ihr wart alle verstreut,
Alle wart ihr in der Fremde herum.

Onkel, Onkel, (Ohm)
Schlagt auf Eure Augen,.
Und seht euch um.
Der Bur... (?)
Hat die Onkelchen und die Kinder
Mit Tanten und alten Freunden,
Verzeiht mir, Ihmelo,
Weil ich herüber gekommen bin.
Ich habe mich verpflichtet gefühlt.
Das Herz hat es mir so gegeben.

[42] AIF Cluj Mg 786 Ia: Klage für den guten Nachbarn. Inf. Mai Maria, 54 J., Gergeschdorf (Ungurei), Kr. Mühlbach (Sebeş); Slg. Stein, H; 30.IV.1963, Gergeschdorf (Ungurei). Texttranskription nach Tonband: Markel, H.

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Klage für die Freundin und für den Vater:

/: Klō, Sino, menj Franjan-o:/	*Klag, Sino (Rosina), meine Freundin*
/: Klo, Sino, menj Franjeno, :/	*Klag Sino, meine Freundin,*
/: Klō, Sino, uch los such mech dro:/	*Klag Sino und lass mich auch dann*
/: Loss uch mech mich bedonken:/	*Laß mich auch bedanken*
/:Sai huet ju uch vil gaudet fir as gedaun-o:/	*Sie hat ja auch viel Gutes für uns getan,*
Da mir nichen Muotter hådden	*Als wir keine Mutter hatten.*
/: Em wall mir uch befielen:/	*Man wollt' mir auch befehlen.*
/: Ech hun jo uch menj Ploch geneach:/	*Ich hab ja auch meine Plage gehabt*
/: Motter uch Brauder uch Sastern-o	*Mutter und Bruder und Schwestern.*
/. Uch meinje gangen Gesallen-o:/	*Und meine jungen Gesellen.*
/: Meinjen deiren Vueter-o:/	*Meinen teuren Vater*
Vueter-o, meinj sesser Vueter!	*Vater, mein guter Vater!*
Vueter-o, meinj gauder Vueter!	*Vater, mein guter Vater!*
/: Teppe-Maun, menj gad Maun:/	*Teppe-Maun, meine gute Muhme,*
/: Ech ban derheim uch asi kunn,:/	*Ich bin von daheim kommen*
/: Teppe-Maun, ech sell ech net klōn:/	*Ich will euch nicht klagen,*
/: Gleiwt mer, ech kån mech net behålden./	*Glaubt mir ich kann mich nicht behalten*
/: Treppe-Maun, mein gaud Maun-o	*Teppe-Maun, meine gute Teppe-Muhme,*
Ech sell ech net befielen-o:/	*Ich soll euch nicht befehlen,*
/: Mer nor en heischen Gruoß schacken-o:/	*Ich will nur einen schönen Gruß schicken*
/: Menjem gauden Vuoter-o:/	*Meinem guten Vater*
/: Vuoter-o, menj siesser Vueter-o:/...	*Meinem süssen Vater,....!*
/: Ech so dem Teppen-Maun esi	*Ich sage es Teppe- Muhme*
Wun er mir nau duer word gon	*Wenn ihr mir nun dorthin geht,*
/: E sul uch īst hiëme kun,	*Er soll auch einmal nach hause kommen*
E sul uch eīst besaken oull:/	*Er soll auch einmal alle besuchen*
Der Teppo wēr uch froundjert	*Der Teppo hat auch geheiratet*
/: Anja si huet hi gespot	*Und so hat er gesagt:*
Er seol uch nor esi leng liewen	*Er soll auch nur so lang leben*
Bas dat er en uch geaşezat wast hai/:	*Bis dass er ihn auch wohl gesetzt war,*
Vueter-o, menj Vuetr-o.:/	*Vater, mein Vater,*
Vueter, sesser Vueter.	*Vater, süßer Vater*
Vueter, menj gaud Vueter,	*Vater, mein guter Vater*
Hei /: Elin kam Sino, kam en klō:/	*Allein komm, Sino, komm und klag,*
En net dink, main Franjen-o:/	*Und denk nicht, meine Freundin*
Derwell se nau old wor:/	*Derweil sie nun alt ist,*
Sai huet jo dennich dien hisch	*Sie hat ja dennoch deinen hübschen*
Motternomen gedron	*Mutternamen getragen*

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/: Mueter, Mueter, der hiesch Numen
/: Uch Vueter, Vueter, der sesst Numen...

Mutter, Mutter , der hübsche Namen
Vater, Vater, der süßeste Namen[43].

oder: Klage für den Bruder:

Teppo auser, menj gang Brauder,
ålle Feïertājch, dai kunn-o,
Teppo, auser, tau nackest!
Brauder, uĕ, wa koste stōhn,
/: ta seïlt nemmol eïst kunn?:/

Teppo, unser, mein junger Bruder,
alle Feiertage, die kommen,
Teppo, unser, [aber] du nie!
Bruder,..., wie kannst du "stehen" (bleiben),
/:du solltest nicht einmal kommen?:/

Kamm, Brauder, en kamm-o,
mer werde dich garen erwur(den?).
Teppo, auser, menj gang Brauder,
noer kamm, Brauder, en' kamm-o!
De' Willi wäd sich jo uch froen.
Hi as jå (e) Gang bliwen-o,
ohne Vueter, uch, Schatzo!
De Kaindj, dai de nichen Oldjer hun,
dai selln sij jo Gebrader senj.
Ich weïß net, Brauder-o,
gefolljt et dir esi gaut, Brauder-o,
Dåtte nemol eïst åf Besack kist!?
Teppo, auser, dohen ich gohn-o,
uch wunn ech anj (an?) d'Årbet,
klōn ich dech de gunzen Dōch,
denn, gleïw mer et, Brauder-o,
en, menj Harz deït mer asi wih.
Teppo, auser, menj Brauder-o,
Te huest dich anjen esi geplocht
en huest zwelf Gōhr gedainjt,
a Mellembrich zem Harrn Leiblich
hueste der Īhrung gemaucht,
en huest der se net benuetzt.
Teppo, auser, me gang Brauder...

Komm, Bruder, und komm-o,
wir würden dich gern erwarten (?).
Teppo, unser, mein junger Bruder,
nur komm, Bruder, und komm- o!
Dein Willi würde sich ja auch freuen.
Er ist ja ein/als Junge (ver)blieben-o,
ohne Vater, und, Schatz (meiner)!
Die Kinder, die keine Eltern haben,
die solln sich ja Gebrüder/Geschwister sein.
Ich weiß nicht, Bruder-o,
gefällt es dir so gut, Bruder-o,
dass du auch nicht einmal zu Besuch kommst?!
...Teppo, unser, dahin ich auch geh,
auch wenn ich in der Arbeit (bin),
klage ich dich den ganzen Tag,
denn, glaub es mir, Bruder-o,
en, mein Herz tut mir so weh.
Teppo, unser, mein Bruder-o,
du hast dich immer so sehr geplagt
und hast zwölf Jahre gedient,
in Mühlbach beim Herrn Leiblich
hast du dir Ehrung gemacht,
und hast sie nicht genutzt.
Teppo, unser, mein junger Bruder...[44]

[43] AIF Cluj Mg. 800 I b, Bogesch, Katharina, 47 J. Weingartskirchen (Vingard), 3.7.1963, Slg. Stein, H.; Melodietranskription Gergely, Z., 2013.

[44] AIF Cluj Mg. 800 I e, Lutsch, Maria 69 J., aus Weingartskirchen (Vingard), Slg. Stein, H., 4.7.1963. Transkriptionskorrektur: Markel, H., Melodietranskription: Gergely, Z., 2015.

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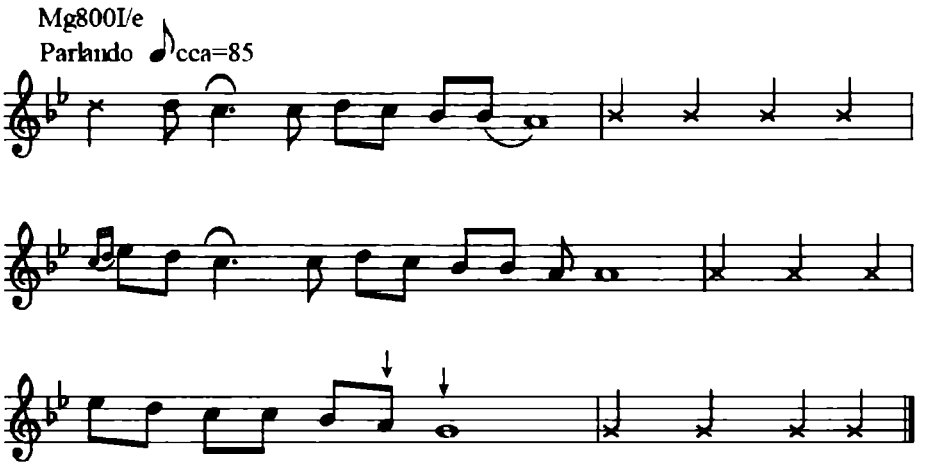
Oder: Klage für die Eltern:

Muetter-o, menj Muetter-o
Uch menj lāw Vueter-o,
Galdä, menj ōld Oïldjer,
Muetter-o, mät dem griuße Krez-o,
Gohr åf dem Bat,
Muetter-o, menj gequiëlt-o.
Ta /:Muetter:/, ta sess Muetter,
Muetter, wai kanjd Er stōhn-o
Vun asi ville Gohren-o
Er sed net emōl eųst kunn!
/:As et do esi hart gaud, o:/
Åwer as et asi stronj verbodde?
Deï de duar eïst geïht, o
Di kitt nemmol eïst mih, o
Muetter, Muetter, sesser Nummen,
Ai, wuni ku mer mih zesummen?
Muetter, menj sess Muetter-o,
/: En uch wïedder menj old Vueter-o:/
Di de uch gequielt wor uch, o
Di Vueter, ech bedunken mich, o.
Mir se vill Kāndj gewiëst
Uch ir sed aïnj gequiëlt gewiëst, o
Dai Oldjer, dai de vill Kandj hun, o:
Sen ainj vill gequiëlt en-o
Vueter-o, menj Galdan-o,

Mutter, meine Mutter
Und mein lieber Vater,
Goldene, meine alten Eltern
Mutter mit dem großen Kreuz (Elend)! Da vill
Die viele Jahre im Bett (gelegen),
Mutter mein, gequälte.
Du Mutter, Mutter, du süße Mutter,
Mutter, wie konntet Ihr "stehen" (dort bleiben)
von (seit) so vielen Jahren?
Ihr seid (auch) nicht einmal gekommen!
Ist es dort so "harte" (sehr) gut?
Oder ist es (zu kommen) so streng verboten?
Wer (da) dorthin einmal geht,
der kommt keinmal je (mehr) wieder,
Mutter, Mutter, süßer Namen,
ei, wann kommen wir je zusammen?
Mutter, meine süße Mutter,
und auch wieder(um) mein alter Vater,
der da auch gequält war,
jener Vater, ich bedanke mich.
Wir sind viele Kinder gewesen,
und Ihr seid immer gequält gewesen:
Die Eltern, die viele Kinder haben,
sind immer viel gequält.
Vater-o, mein Goldener,

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Er sed old gewiest uch hart
Leid deïd et mir,
ich seïl net dinke, Muetter-o,
un dai vill Gohr,
dae Er af dem Bat sed gewiëst.
Er huet nackest, sess Muetter,
Dau der hangrig wōrd, o
Gaulden menj Muetter-o
Nęr dau der huęt geroffen
Kam, Rusho, oder Mierto,
En gaw der Grieß Brīt, o.
Nackest Wosser gedraunken
Muetter, dau der durschtig wōrt
bas dott em Ich net huet gien.
/: Muetter:/ menj sess Muetter,
nackest kaun ech et vergiëßen, o
det Krez, dåt Er huet gedrōn, o.
Wadder kitt ed mer äos dem Sann
Glech, wuer ich genj,
Muetter, ech kun ech net vergeßen
Muetter, menj sess Muetter-o
Uch me' Vueter wedder, di gaut, ...
E huet vairevirzich Gohr geliëwt,
Leïd deïd et mer dïennich, Puio(?)
(Er?) sedj menj Oïldjer gewiëst, o
Galdan, menj Muetter, o!

Ihr seid alt gewesen und sehr
Leid tut es mir,
ich solle nicht denken, Mutter,
an die vielen Jahre,
die Ihr im Bett gewesen seid.
Ihr habt niemals, süße Mutter,
wann Ihr hungrig wart,
meine goldene Mutter, -
nur wenn Ihr habt gerufen
"Komm, Rusho, oder Martin-o,
und gib der Groß(mutter) Brot" -
niemals/je Wasser getrunken,
Mutter, wenn Ihr durstig wart,
bis dass man es Euch gegeben hat.
Mutter, Mutter, meine süße Mutter,
niemals kann ich es vergessen
das Kreuz, das Ihr getragen habt.
Weder kommt es mir aus dem Sinn,
gleich, wohin ich gehen würde,
Mutter, ich kann Euch nicht vergessen,
Mutter, meine süße Mutter,
Und wiederum mein Vater, der gute, ...
Er hat vierundvierzig Jahre gelebt,
Leid tut es mir dennoch, Kleines(?),
(Ihr?) seid meine Eltern gewesen
Goldene , meine Mutter!

Rumänisch:

Dragii mei, părinții mei,
Ei auffost cam bătrânei
/:Dar n'i tot dor d'i ei:/[45]

Meine Lieben, meine Eltern,
Sie waren schon etwas alt,
doch sehne ich mich immer nach ihnen.

Bei diesen provozierten Klagen fallen neben den Klagen für längst Verstorbene auch Klagen für Lebende auf, z.B. die rumänische Klage für den Sohn, der sich seit acht Jahren nicht mehr meldet. Hier verwendet die Sängerin die sehr schönen Formeln des rumänischen Volksliedes:

[45] AIF Cluj Mg. 800 I d, Vingard (Weingartskirchen), jud. Sebeș (Kr.Mühlbach), *Bocet la părinți/Klage für die Eltern.* Inf.:Lutsch, Maria, 69 J., Vingard (Weingartskirchen), 4.VI, 1963, Slg. Stein, H., Transkriptionkorrektur: Markel, H., 2015.

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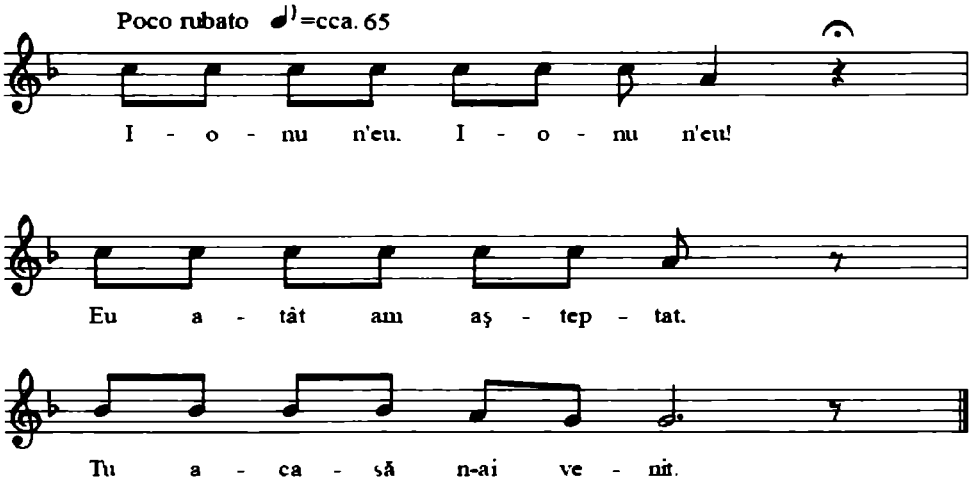
Klage für den abwesenden Sohn:

/: Iuonu n'eu:/
Eu atît-am aşteptat
În casă n-ai venit.
*Ori, dragă, ori ne-ai murit_*
Ori eşti în vale îngropat
Ioniu n'eu,
Ori în apă înecat
De carte n-am căpătat
Ionu n'eu şi muma mea
Hai Ionu n'eu, acasă
Ori străin nu te lasă...

Mein Ion!
Ich habe so auf dich gewartet,
Du bist nicht nach Hause gekommen
Oder bist du am Ende gestorben?
Oder bist du im Tal begraben?
Mein Ion!
Oder bist du im Wasser ertrunken?
Einen Brief habe ich nicht bekommen...
Mein Ion und meine Mutter
Hei, Ion, komm nach Hause
Oder lässt dich der Fremde nicht?...[46]

Die Zerrissenheit der Familie spielt in den siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Klagen eine große Rolle ein. Fast jede Familie war vom Krieg betroffen, entweder durch den Militärdienst, oder nach dem Krieg, als fast aus jeder Familie jemand zur sog. Aufbauarbeit nach Russland deportiert worden war. Außerdem wurden vorzeitig aus der Deportation oder Kriegsgefangenschaft Entlassene nach Deutschland abgeschoben und wo sie z.T. blieben. Für sie war die Heimkehr nach

[46] AIF Cluj, Mg 787 I f, Măneasa, Ana, 66 J.; Törnen (Păuca), 4.5.1963; Slg. Stein, H; Melodietranskription: Gergely, Z., 2014, Cluj.

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Siebenbürgen nicht immer möglich oder der Kontakt zeitweilig besonders schwierig. So enthalten viele Klagen das Schicksal der zurückgebliebenen Kinder, die von Tanten und andern Verwandten aufgezogen worden waren. Die lange Abwesenheit spiegelt sich auch wieder, z.B. bei dem Mann, der 12 Jahre auswärts gedient hat (sbs.)[47]; der Sohn, der nicht kommen konnte, während es gut ging, weil es streng verboten war (sbs/rom)[48]; die Kinder, die in der Fremde waren, als die Mutter viele Jahre krank war und ihre Hilfe gebraucht hätte (sbs.)[49].

Es sollen aber auch in der Ferne Gestorbene beklagt werden. So heißt es in einem rumänischen gereimten Brief aus dem I. Weltkrieg (1917):

...Şi la inmormîntarea mea
Pe nimeni nu voi avea...
...Nice neamurile mele
Ca să mă cînte cu jele
Nice mi-o cînta maicuţa
Nice mi-o plînge drăguţa...

Bei meiner Beerdigung
werde ich niemand haben...
...Keinen meiner Verwandten,
Die mich mit Schmerz beklagen werden
Noch wird mich die Mutter beklagen
Noch wird mich die Liebste beweinen...[50]

Neben dem Schmerz über den Verlust, taucht sowohl im Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen als auch im Rumänischen immer wieder gleichsam als Trost die Vorstellung auf, dass der Verstorbene in dem andern Land auf Verwandte treffen werde, denen er von den Zurückgebliebenen Grüße und Nachrichten bringen soll. Inhaltlich spielt der Dank an die Eltern und die Bitte um Verzeihung, falls man gefehlt habe in den siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Klagen ein bedeutende Rolle, während sie in den rumänischen nicht erscheinen.

DIE MELODIE

Die meisten der im AIF Klausenburg (Cluj) aufgezeichneten siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Totenklagen sind noch nicht von Musikethnologen vom Tonband transkribiert und klassifiziert. Dabei mögen auch die schwierigen Umstände der Aufnahme – ich erinnere an meine und die nicht transskribierbare Aufnahme von H. Markel bei der Beerdigung von R. Stephani in Törnen, 1976 – und eine gewisse innere Abwehr vor einer solchen Arbeit vorhanden sein.

Sicher hat auch unsere Ausreise (H. Markel und meine) das Material zu einem Dornröschenschlaf verdammt.

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[47] s. Anm. 21

[48] AIF Cluj Mg 800 I d, Lutsch, Maria, 69 J.; Weingartskirchen (Vingard), 4.7.1963, Sl. Stein, H.

[49] AIF Cluj, Mg 786 I a Mai, Maria, 54 J.; Gergeschdorf (Ungurei), 30.4.1963; Slg. Stein, H.

[50] Ileşu 1967: 200 Nr, 487. Brief des Alexandru Pop, aus der Gemeinde Maieru, Raion Năsăud, (Nordsiebenbürgen), 1917.

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H. Markel hat recht, wenn sie immer wieder betont, "Zusätzliche Erkenntnisse über gebietsmäßige Gliederungen sind vor allem von ethnomusikologischen Analysen der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Totenklagen im Vergleich zu den lebendigeren und formenreicheren Beständen der Rumänen und der Ungarn zu erwarten"[51].

Abgesehen von W. Suppan und Gh. Sulițeanu hat nur H.-P. Türk, Klausenburg sich mit den Tonaufnahmen des Klausenburger Folklore-Archivs befasst und für seine Komposition der *Siebenbürgischen Passionsmusik* verwendet. Freundlicherweise stellte er mir sein unveröffentlichtes Manuskript über siebenbürgisch-sächsische Volkslieder für dieses Referat zur Verfügung. Er schreibt darin über die Totenklagen[52]:

"Auf ein Mindestmaß an Tonstufen reduziert erscheinen die rezitativartigen Totenklagen..."

Die im Verlauf eines Jahrzehntes (1963–1973) von H. Stein und H. Markel aufgezeichneten Totenklagen aus dem Zeckeschgebiet und aus Nordsiebenbürgen bilden, angesichts des Umstandes, dass "bisher im deutschsprachigen Raum keine einzige Melodie einer Totenklage aufgezeichnet werden konnte", ein immerhin reiches Vergleichsmaterial. Es lässt sich beobachten, dass melodische Merkmale zwar an die Gattung als solche gebunden sind (im Sinne freien Rezitierens mit begrenzter Anzahl von Tönen), doch ist die konkrete Ausformung der Totenklage vordergründig von der persönlichen Begabung und Routine der betreffenden Einzelperson bestimmt. Diese entfaltet ihren "eigenen Stil", indem sie die Melodik auf mehr oder weniger Töne einschränkt ohne dabei der besonderen Gelegenheit (Klage für Mann, Frau, Kind, Nachbar) irgendeinen Einfluss auf die musikalische Gestaltung einzuräumen. Beim Vortrag verschiedener Totenklagen durch die gleiche Sängerin trägt allein die Textgestaltung den gegebenen Umständen Rechnung, während das Melodiegerüst keinen wesentlichen Veränderungen unterworfen wird, z.B. Totenklage für den Bruder[53].

"Gemeinsam ist allen Klagen der Beginn auf einem hochgelegenen Rezitationston, von dem aus dann fallende Tendenzen verschiedene tiefer gelegene Töne erfassen. Mitunter ist der Vortrag von Weinen durchbrochen, die Intonation soweit entstellt, dass ein Sprechgesang entsteht und genau fixierbare Tonhöhen nicht mehr erkennbar werden. Solchen von Emotionen stark geprägten Klagen – sie beziehen bisweilen sogar eine kontinuierlich steigende Intonation ein – stehen andere gegenüber, die über ein reicheres Tonmaterial verfügen und dem Lied näher als dem Rezitativ stehen. Die Emotion ist weitgehend verdrängt und der

[51] Markel 1994: 151.

[52] Türk 1987: 4-5.

[53] AIF Cluj Mg. 2113 I f –II a, Hendel, Maria, 66 J. Bilak, 11.3.1966, Slg. Markel, H., Transskription: Türk Gerda.

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litaneiartige Charakter des Vortrags lässt den Eindruck eines starren Rituals entstehen z.B. Totenklage für die Tante"[54].

Zu den Melodietypen teilt der ungarische Musikethnologe Gergely Zoltan aus Klausenburg (Cluj) nach seinen bisherigen Erkenntnissen brieflich folgendes mit: "Bei den Siebenbürger Sachsen gibt es zwei Melodietypen, die auch bei den rumänischen und ungarischen Klagen nachzuweisen sind"[55].

Des weiteren schreibt er betreffend Transkription: "Es war sehr schwer, zugleich aber sehr interessant. Es gibt bei den sächsischen Klagefrauen einen bestimmten melodischen Typ, der wie ich Ihnen schon sagte, auch bei den ungarischen und rumänischen zu finden ist. In einigen Fällen, wenn die Darbietung Weinen und Schluchzer enthält, verkleinern sich die Intervalle zwischen den musikalischen Noten. Deshalb muss man bei der Transkription besonders achtsam sein. Nun einige Worte zu den Melodien: Es gibt bestimmte Melodietypen, diese sind zweizeilig, oder vierzeilig oder dreizeilig" – bei dieser Variante wird die dritte Zeile wiederholt, so dass die Klage vierzeilig ist".

Dann zur der Klage für die Tante (AIF Cluj Mg 783 II uu) fährt er fort: "Wenn wir von der Klage Mg 783 II uu sprechen, passiert folgendes: Auf der Partitur sehen sie vier Zeilen, die musikalische Struktur wäre also AABB. Normalerweise wäre die Struktur AB. Die Gewährsfrau wiederholt zweimal die Strofe A und B, deshalb erscheint AABB, aber nach einiger Zeit wiederholt sie nicht mehr und die Struktur der Melodie ist AB. Diese Tatsache ist oft anzutreffen. Durch die Wiederholung einer Zeile hat sie Zeit sich die nächste Zeile zu überlegen. Auf Ihre Frage nach den Melodien der Aufnahmen Mg,. 800 I e und mg 800 I d (beide von der selben Sängerin – N.d.V.) die Varianten sind vom gleichen melodischen Typ"[56].

Eine weitere Aufarbeitung aller erreichbaren siebenbürgischen Varianten rumänischen, ungarischen, deutschen, wäre sicher eine wichtige und aufschlussreiche Arbeit.

AUSBLICK

1963 notierte ich "Früher wurde allgemein in den sächsischen Gemeinden geklagt, doch wurde dieses von den kirchlichen und weltlichen Behörden nicht gerne gesehen und untersagt, dass wir es heute nicht mehr in allen Gegenden finden. Am Zeckesch ist die Klage allgemein verbreitet und beliebt. Doch wird es

[54] AIF Cluj, Mg. 783 II uu, Mai, Maria, 54 J. Gergeschdorf (Ungurei) 30.4.1963, Slg. Stein. H: Transskription: Türk, Gerda.

[55] Gergely, Zoltan, Mitarbeiter des AIF schriftlich aus Klausenburg (Cluj) am 25.1.2015.

[56] Gergely Zoltan, schriftliche Mitteilung Klausenburg (Cluj) 15.2.2015.

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von den jüngeren Leuten schon aus einem gewissen Schamgefühl als Blödsinn abgewiesen, doch kann man diese Behauptung nicht verallgemeinern"[57].

Wie ablehnend die Haltung der Kirche war, wird auch ersichtlich aus dem dürftigen Resultat der Umfrage von W. Suppan. Nur ein einziger Pfarrer konnte ausführlichere Angaben zu den einschlägigen Fragen geben. Lehnten sie den Brauch ab oder wussten sie wirklich nichts Genaueres.

Mit der seit 1989 massiven Auswanderung der Siebenbürger Sachsen aus Siebenbürgen ist wohl auch diesem Brauch ein Ende gesetzt. Wie weit die wenigen alten in den Dörfern Verbliebenen den Brauch wohl noch pflegen? In Deutschland dürften die Voraussetzungen dafür fehlen, da hier der Tote nicht im Haus verbleibt. Die Bestatter ermöglichen zwar ein Abschiednehmen, doch es ist nicht das gleiche Ambiente wie das gewohnte eigene Wohnhaus des Verstorbenen.

W. Suppan erwähnt im deutschsprachigen Raum Totenklagen außer Siebenbürgen auch noch welche in der Gottschee und im Gebiet um Kremnitz-Proben/Westkarpathen[58]. Von Russlanddeutschen und Bessarabiern erfahre ich öfters von solchen Abschiedsfeiern. Im Internet gab es eine Darstellung einer bessarabischen Totenklage aus Steinfeld im Oldenburger Münsterland[59]. Und ein Bestatter aus dem Eichsfeld östlich von Göttingen berichtete mir, das die alten russlanddeutschen Frauen wohl Klagen und bestimmte Trauerlieder hätten, dass die Jungen das aber nicht mehr wollten.

Das Thema Totenklage wird für die Volkskunde im deutschsprachigen Bereich wohl für immer ein großes Bedauern über verpasste Gelegenheiten sein. Es wären noch interessante Ergebnisse im Bereich Mündlichkeit/Schriftlichkeit (Kirchenlied/mehr oder weniger eigene Improvisation, resp. Hochdeutsch/Mundart), sowie im Bereich der Interethnik (Siebenbürgisch-sächsisch/Rumänisch) zu erwarten gewesen. Zu unserer Zeit, in den 60er und 70er Jahren, fehlten die technischen Möglichkeiten, jetzt wo man leicht ein diskretes Mikrofon in der Nähe des Sarges platzieren könnte, ist der Brauch so gut wie bald ganz verschwunden. Deshalb war es mir wichtig, auch wenn es nur ein Stückwerk bleibt[60], dieses Material vorzustellen und der Öffentlichkeit zu übergeben[61].

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[57] Kurz vor meiner Ausreise 1963 verfasste ich "Einige Bemerkungen zu den Totenklagen der Sachsen am Zeckesch", von dem sich mir nur die ersten drei Seiten erhalten geblieben sind. Ein Exemplar des Manuskriptes übergab ich 1964 dem leider zu früh verstorbenen Prof. Bose in Berlin. Über den Verbleib seines Nachlasses ist mir nichts bekannt geworden.

[58] Suppan 1963: 22.

[59] Bunge 1987.

[60] Für die Transkription und die Korrekturen bereits vorhandener Mundarttexte danke ich besonders Frau Hanni Markel (vorm. Klausenburg (Cluj)/jetzt Nürnberg) und für die Melodietranskription Herrn Gergely, Zoltan, Klausenburg (Cluj).

[61] Aus diesem Grunde füge ich neben den von mir gesammelten Klagen, so weit sie nicht im Text bereits wiedergegeben sind, auch die sehr schönen von Edith Feleki-Dengel für ihre Diplomarbeit gesammelten Text im Anhang hinzu.

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Das ist eben der Lauf der Dinge!

ANHANG

Feleki-Dengel 1980: 131–133.

Katharina Wallmen, geb. 1906

1.

Miə Breodər, ɔs Kuənərɔt,
vɔ mir dət Harts am diəç brɔj,
vɔ dot mir dət Harts am diəç brɔj!
Vuəram viult teo mir niət ʃraiwən,
dot teo miəszt en Tardis blaivən,
dot teo miə szt en Tardis blaivən?
Campo Rosso, fuaɲɟliç ʃtɔt,
en diar loj ɔs Kuənərɔt.
Met dəm Urləʃʃiaɲ em Jep
muəszt teo gion, miaɲ Dairər, miəɲər!
Teo vi ult jio drio hiimə kun,
bɔ diəɲ Frɔ uəχ bɔ diəɲ Kanj,
li in tə huəszt ət niət gəkaɲɟ.
Dər Diut hot diəç ʃiun amroɲɟ,
ə hot diç dərfun gəreszən
ais ɔzər Metənt, Breodər miəɲər!
Breodər miəɲər, geodə Nəuçt,
reo viul en diar kɔ ldər Iart!

Mein Bruder, unser Konrad,
wie mir das Herz um dich brennt,
wie dass mir das Herz um dich brennt!
Warum wolltest du es mir nicht schreiben,
dass du musstest in Tardis bleiben,
dass du musstest in Tardis bleiben?
Campo Rosso, feindliche Stadt,
in der liegt unser Konrad.
Mit dem Urlaubsschein in der Tasche
musstest du gehen, mein Teurer, meiner!
Du wolltest ja dann nach Hause kommen,
zu deiner Frau und zu deinen Kindern,
aber du hast es nicht gekonnt.
Der Tod hat dich schon umringt,
er hat dich davon gerissen
aus unserer Mitte, Bruder meiner!
Bruder meiner, gute Nacht,
ruh wohl in der kalten Erde!

2.

Breodər miəɲər, Geodər miəɲər,
vuər garə viil iəç dər ə Brɔfkə metʃekən

un dɔ, vot mər gur dio hun.
Breodər miəɲər, Breodər miəɲər!
Llii vuən teo kiszt of Guətəs Okər,
gev diç dia gurən tsəm ərkanən,
dɔ vot mir diu hu, miəɲ Harts,
di il ə met, miəɲ Dairər, miəɲər,
oləst vɔ t`əs hɔ gəlioszən həust.
Diər Diud, diər Diud diər betrər Diud,
didə ziç əren həut geʃleçən
ən həut diç uəχ eos əntreszən!

Bruder meiner, Guter meiner,
wie gerne wollt` ich dir ein Brieflein mitschicken
an die, die wir alle dort haben.
Bruder meiner, Bruder meiner!
Aber wenn du kommst auf Gottes Acker,
gib dich ihnen allen zu erkennen,
die wir dort haben, mein Herz,
teil ihnen mit, mein Teurer, meiner,
alles, wie du uns hier gelassen hast.
Der Tod, der Tod, der bittere Tod,
der sich herein hat geschlichen
und hat dich auch uns entrissen!

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Vuən tə kiszt bɔ dɔ Filən vot mir dio hun
niəm u gur, gur, gur met ən hiəʃə Gruəsz
ən diil ə met, miəɲ Dairər, miəɲər,
vot iç dər garə metviərdʃekən,
duəχ ət git dio niəçən Adresz.

Wenn du kommst zu den Vielen, die wir dort haben,
nimm an alle, alle, alle mit einen schönen Gruß
und teile ihnen mit, mein Teurer, meiner,
was ich dir gerne mitschicken würde,
doch es gibt dort keine Adresse.

3.
Iç bəduŋkə miç filməlts,
filməlts bəduŋkən iç miç!
ən niət klio miç bɔ m Herən un,
vio iç met eszt gefælt hun!

Ich bedanke mich vielmals,
vielmals bedanke ich mich!
Und klag mich nicht beim Herren an,
wenn ich mit etwas gefehlt habe!

4.
Kloɲi nuər iər Barç uəχ Rəiç,
kloɲi nuər hɔher far əwvəiç!
Liot z'en Diətʃliund viədərholən,
dot zə keoŋddeon ɔzə Kuəmər uəχ dio,
dot zə ukoɲjiɣən ɔzə Kuəmər, ɔzə griuszə Fərloszt!
Kut, ir Hartsən, gur tsəzumən,
kut ən helft əz diəzə Kuəmər drion!

Klingt nur über Berg und Hang,
klingt nur weit weg von hier!
Lasst sie in Deutschland widerhallen,
dass sie kundtun unseren Kummer auch dort,
dass sie ankündigen unseren Kummer, unseren großen Verlust!
Kommt, ihr Herzen, alle zusammen,
kommt und helft uns diesen Kummer tragen!

5.
Neo giist teo ais ais Həuf uəχ Hais,
ais diəɲən leχtən dairə ʃtuvən,
en dɔ deoŋkəl, deoŋkəl ʃtuf,
də niəçən Fiənstərən uəχ niəçən Dirən həut,
dəur niəçən, niəçən Zon əreblekt,
miəɲ Hartsər miəɲər, Dairər miəɲər,
miəɲər!

Nun gehst du aus aus Hof und Haus,
aus deinen lichten, teuren Stuben,
in die dunkle, dunkle Stube,
die keine Fenster hat und keine Türen,
wohin keine, keine Sonne hineinblickt,
mein Herzgeliebter meiner, Teurer meiner!

6.
Muətər, Muətər, daiər Muətər,
Muətər, iç ben hɔ əliin,
iç ʃtion un Iəç hɔ əliin!
Muətər oər mir vərən ær fil,
mir vərən drɔ Brɔjər uəχ drɔ Zestrən,

Mutter, Mutter, teure Mutter,
Mutter, ich bin hier allein,
ich steh bei Euch hier allein!
Mutter, aber wir waren ihrer viele,
wir waren drei Brüder und drei Schwestern,

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Muətər miəɲ!
Vər dɔt niət ən hiəʃ Krɨunts, Muətər- əu,
ən hiəʃ Krɨunts am irə Zarç,
ə Liavən met liavənijə Bleomən,
Muətər miəɲ!

Mutter meine!
War das nicht ein schöner Kranz, Mutter,
ein schöner Kranz um Euren Sarg,
ein Leben mit lebendigen Blumen,
Mutter meine!

Susanna Mehburger, geb.1936
7.

Fəutər miəɲər,
Fəutər miəɲər, deot of də ɪuɣən
ən zɔj nəuχ iiszt am Iç amərainjk,
zɔj, vər gədreokt uəχ vuər bəkrit Ir əs
həut gəlioszən!
Fəutər miəɲər, vɔ siilə mər det
iervoɲjən,
diəzə ʃværən Fərlost, Fəutər geodər?
Vuər brɔj ət eos en ɔzən Hartsən,
dot mir det niət kanən fərʃmartsən!
Fəutər miəɲər, iç duŋkən Iç fiur oləst,
vot iç fun Iəç hun əmpfuəɲən,
fiur dɔ geot Liərən uəχ dɔ fil Helf!
Bɔ viən zɔ l iəç nəuχ gion, Fəutər
geodər,
am ən Liər uəχ am ən Triuszt?
Fəutər hun iəç niəçə mi!
Oχ, Fəutər, vɔ far ziəj Ir mir gəguəɲən,
miəɲ ʃtam, dɔ k i un Iç nami ərluəɲən!

Viam zɔl iəç nəuχ klion miəɲ Hartsəliit,
viam zɔl iəç nəuχ zion, vɔ vɪ: ət diit!

Fəutər, əzi hiərt miχ duəχ, Fəutər!
Fəutər miəɲər, miəɲ dairer Fəutər,
dɪ: gədreokt en ziəɲəm g i untsən
Liavən,
Ir ziəj jio iuχ ols ən Viisz
griuszgəvəuszən
unt həut iuχ Viizən griusz helfən tsɔɲ!
Kut ir Kaɲj liot Tsærən fliəszən,
dot mər irən Griuszfəutər bəgiəszən!
Kloɲj ir Kliokən far əvəiç,

Vater meiner,
Vater meiner, tut auf die Augen
und schaut noch einmal um Euch herum,
schaut, wie gedrückt und wie betrübt Ihr uns
habt alle gelassen!
Vater meiner, wie sollten wir dies
überwinden,
diesen schweren Verlust, Vater guter?
Wie brennt es uns in unseren Herzen,
dass wir dies nicht können verschmerzen!
Vater meiner, ich danke Euch für alles,
was ich von Euch habe empfangen,
für die guten Lehren und die viele Hilfe!
Zu wem soll ich noch gehen, Vater
guter,
um eine Lehre und um einen Trost?
Vater hab ich keinen mehr!
Ach, Vater, wie fern seid Ihr mir gegangen,
meine Stimme, die kann Euch nicht
mehr erlangen!
Wem soll ich noch klagen mein Herzeleid,
wem soll ich noch sagen, wie weh es
mir tut!
Vater, so hört mich doch, Vater!
Vater meiner, mein teurer Vater,
der gedrückt /war/ in seinem ganzen
Leben,
Ihr seid ja auch als eine Waise
großgewachsen
und habt auch Waisen groß helfen ziehn!
Kommt, ihr Kinder, lasst Zähren fließen,
dass wir euren Großvater begießen!
Klingt, ihr Glocken, bis weit weg,

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kloŋj nuər ivər Təul uəχ Rəiç
ən deot et diəzəm Gaŋən tsəvesz,
dot siəŋ Griuszfəutər geʃtuərən esz!
Kut ir Kaŋj kut neo gur hiimən,
dot mər ɔzə Fəutər bəviinən!
Fəutər miəŋnər, iç bəduŋkən miç
iuχ fiur miəŋnəs Breodər siəŋ Kaŋj,
dɔ Ir griusz həut helfən tsɔŋ!
Iç bəduŋkən miç iuχ fiur miəŋnən
Haiszfəutər!
Vuər ziəj Ir əm met Riot uəχ Təut
tsər Ziəj gəʃtiundən, Fəutər dairər!
Fəutrə, dɪ: geot Fəutər ziəŋnən Kaŋjən
uəχ dɪ: geot Griuszfəutər ziəŋnən ɔŋkələn.
Iχ bəduŋkən miç iuχ fiur miəŋnən Breodər.
Fəutər miəŋnər, hɔlt mər tsəgeot,
vuən iəç met est hun gəfælt
uəχ vuən iəç mər də Fliçt niət hun
ərfælt,
əzi, vɔ iəç hɔv gəziult.
Fəutər miəŋnər, miəŋ dairər Fəutər!
Liot miç ʃruaŋ am miəŋnən Fəutər,
den Fəutər hun iəç niəçən mɪ:,
ənt dɔt diit mir um Hartsən vɪ:!
Fəutər miəŋnər, Ir tsɔj neo ais
hɔ ais Irəm Həuf iuχ Hais,
Fəutər, en ən deoŋkəl, iardan ʃtuf,
diu hiərt Ir nami ɔzən Ruəf.
Reot viul em Fridən desz Hern,
reot viul of iəviç, Fəutər miəŋnər!

klingt nur über Tal und Hang
und tut es diesem Jungen kund,
dass sein Großvater gestorben ist!
Kommt, ihr Kinder, kommt alle heim,
dass wir unseren Vater beweinen!
Vater meiner, ich bedanke mich
auch für die Kinder meines Bruders,
die Ihr groß habt helfen ziehen!
Ich bedanke mich auch für meinen
Hausvater!
Wie seid Ihr ihm mit Rat und Tat
zur Seite gestanden, Vater teurer!
Vater, der gute Vater seinen Kindern
Und der gute Großvater seinen Enkeln.
Ich bedanke mich auch für meinen Bruder.
Vater meiner, haltet mir zugut,
wenn ich mit etwas habe gefehlt
und wenn ich mir die Pflicht nicht habe
erfüllt,
so, wie ich hätte gesollt.
Vater meiner, mein teurer Vater!
Lasst mich weinen um meinen Vater,
denn Vater hab ich keinen mehr,
und das tut mir im Herzen weh!
Vater meiner, Ihr zieht nun aus
hier aus Eurem Hof und Haus,
Vater, in eine dunkle, irdene Stube,
dort hört Ihr nicht mehr meinen Ruf.
Ruht wohl im Frieden des Herrn,
ruht wohl auf ewig, Vater meiner!

Sophia Jasch, geb. 1931

8.

Muətər, miəŋ geot Muətər,
Muətər, ʃliot of Ir Ɨuɣən,
zɔj olə Fraŋjanən uəχ Niobəranən ziə
kun tsəzumən,
Muətər, am zə zi ulən Uafʃiit nin fun
Iəç!
Muətər, ət vɔr jio niət Ir Vantʃ,
Muətər, ər ziult əzi bɔlt fun eos dərfun
gion!

Mutter, meine gute Mutter,
Mutter, schlagt auf Eure Augen,
seht, alle Freundinnen und Nachbarinnen
sind gekommen zusammen,
Mutter, damit sie Abschied nehmen von
Euch!
Mutter, es war ja nicht Euer Wunsch,
Muter, dass Ihr so bald von uns
weggehen solltet!

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Muətər, Ir viult jio bɔ eos blaivən,
Muətər, iuɣ bɔ miəɲəm geodə Fəutər,
dɪ: vot ləç əzi fil Gior həut bəzuərçt,
nuər (I)ər ziult met eos tsəzumən ziəɲ.
Muətər, Guət dər Hær həut ət iundrəʃ gəviult.
Hia həut ləç neo ərliəszt fun dia filən Liəjən uχ Kvualən,
dɔ vot Ir met Gədiult həut erdrion!
Muətər, Ir vərt jio iuχ əzi tsəfridən,
Ir viult jio liavən ər zi ult fiur eos ʃofən,
Muətər, mir zi ulən't em Liavən laiçtər hun,
vɔ Ir ət həut gəhəut.
Muətər, vəur iəç gion ən zɔɲ,
ki un iəç nuər zion, vuər ən flaisziç uəχ bəzuərçt Muətər mir gəhəut hun!

Muətər, iç kiun niət Viərtər dəs Duŋkəs foɲjən,
am iç ziul miç bɔ ləç bəduŋkən,
Muətər, am dət Fil olənt vot Ir fiur eos həut gədion,
Muətər, uəχ fiur dɔ fil geot Liərən,
vot Ir eos gurən həut gəgin,
Muətər, uəχ fiur dɔ griusz Gɔj uəχ Fraɲjləgət,
vot Ir eos gurən həut ərvizvən!
Muətər, iç bəduŋkə miç uəχ fiur miəɲ Gəzesztrər,
fiur ɔzə Tim uəχ fiur ɔs Borbər

Muətər, dɔ vot əzi far fun eos ziəɲ!
Muətər, vuər hort vird ət iuχ fiur zɔ ziəɲ,
dərviəl zə iəntst niət iuχ bɔ eos kanən ziəɲ,
Muətər, zə ziilə ziç bɔ ləç bəduŋkən,
am dət fil vot Ir iuχ fiur zɔ həut gədion.
Muətər, mər zi ilən əs tsəzumən dət Liit iuχ də Kuəmər drion,
dət vot Guət dər Hær eos iəntst həut ofərləuçt.

Mutter, Ihr wolltet ja bei uns bleiben,
Mutter, und bei meinem guten Vater, der,
der Euch so viele Jahre hatum sorgt,
nur damit Ihr mit uns zusammen sein sollt.
Mutter, Gott der Herr hat es anders gewollt,
Er hat Euch nun erlöst von den vielen Leiden und Qualen,
die Ihr mit Geduld habt ertragen!
Mutter, Ihr wart ja auch so zufrieden,

Mutter, damit wir es im Leben leichter haben,
als Ihr es gehabt habt.
Mutter, wohin ich gehe und sehe,
kann ich nur sagen, was für eine fleißige und fürsorgliche Mutter wir gehabt haben!
Mutter, ich kann nicht Wörter des Dankes finden,
um mich bei Euch zu bedanken,
Mutter, für all das Viele, das Ihr für uns habt getan,
Mutter, und für die vielen guten Lehren,
die Ihr uns allen gegeben habt,
Mutter, und für die große Güte und Freundlichkeit,
die Ihr uns allen habt erwiesen!
Mutter, ich bedanke mich auch für meine Geschwister,
für unseren Tim und unsere Borber (Barbara),
Mutter, die was so fern von uns sind!
Mutter, wie hart wird es auch für sie sein,
weil sie jetzt nicht auch bei uns seinnen,
Mutter, um sich bei Euch zu bedanken,
Für das Viele, was Ihr für sie getan habt.
Mutter, wir sollen zusammen das Leid und den Kummer tragen,
das, was Gott der Herr uns jetzt hat auferlegt.

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Muətər, iç bəduŋkən miç uəχ fiur miəɲən gaŋən
Haisfəutər,
am dɔ griusz Gɔj uəχ Fraɲjləgət,
dɔ vot Ir uəχ em aɲjən həut ərvizən!
Muətər miəɲ, hɔ lt əs ət tsəgeot,
vuə mir met eszt hu gəfælt.
Muətər, vuənd Ir kut of Guətəs Okər,
git Iç miəɲər Buarə-Griusz tsəm
ərkanən!
Vuər friu vird zɔ neo ziəɲ,
vuən Ir neo viədər bɔ er vart ziəɲ.

Muətər, liavt viul of iəviç geodə Nəuçt,
miəɲ Muətər!

Mutter, ich bedanke mich auch für meinen jungen
Hausvater,
für die große Güte und Freundlichkeit,
die Ihr auch ihm immer habt erwiesen!
Mutter meine, haltet es uns allen zugute,
wenn wir mit etwas gefehlt haben.
Mutter, wenn Ihr kommt auf Gottes Acker,
gebt Euch meiner Buaren-Großmutter
zu erkennen!
Wie froh wird sie jetzt sein,
wenn Ihr nun wieder bei ihr sein werdet.
Mutter, lebt wohl auf ewig, gute Nacht,
meine Mutter!

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LES ORIGINES DU CORPS SAUVAGE DANS L'IMAGINAIRE OCCIDENTAL

JÉRÔME THOMAS

RESUME

Les Espagnols débarquèrent sur le sol américain pétris de représentations et de stéréotypes hérités de l'Antiquité et de l'époque médiévale. Leur conception de l'altérité et leurs rapports aux populations amérindiennes n'étaient pour eux envisageable qu'à travers le prisme d'images et de schémas mentaux très fortement ancrés dans leur inconscient. L'Indien, figure emblématique de l'altérité et de l'exotisme, surgit soudainement et fut affublé de toutes les panoplies physiques même s'il ne faut pas oublier que l'Afrique, l'Asie avaient déjà été l'objet d'explorations, d'interrogations et de confrontations avec leurs habitants. Dans cet article, nous nous intéresserons à une figure spécifique, celle du corps sauvage, une des trois catégories médiévales avec les monstres et la graduation de l'humanité du Nègre jusqu'aux Européens. Comment, dans l'iconographie, furent appliquées aux Indiens les catégories médiévales liées aux représentations d'hommes sauvages. Les artistes européens se retrouvèrent confrontés à des problèmes de représentation a priori insolubles en particulier ceux concernant la pilosité indienne. Alors que l'un des signes forts de la sauvagerie était, pour les européens, une forte pilosité, les colonisateurs firent face à des populations imberbes qui «traquaient» le poil. Nous verrons de quelle manière les graveurs et dessinateurs s'adaptèrent à cette situation en suivant ce questionnement: comment s'est construite cette nouvelle altérité amérindienne au début du XVIe siècle.

Mots clés: homme sauvage, Indiens, Amérique, corps, stéréotypes.

Le corps est investi de représentations très fortes quelles que soient les sociétés et les époques considérées. Un de ces modes d'investissement, lié à l'imaginaire, le relie à des êtres fantastiques, étranges, légendaires et mythiques dont l'un des symboles est bien l'homme sauvage et velu qui le place à l'interface de l'humanité et de l'animalité. Etre inquiétant enclin à la violence et à la bestialité, il représente la sauvagerie et vit en marge de la société.

Selon la classification du naturaliste Carl von Linné (1707–1778), dans son ouvrage *Systema Naturae* (1735), *Homo ferus* (homme sauvage) désigne une variante d'*Homo sapiens*[1]. Dans le contexte précis de cette nomenclature, *Homo ferus* caractérise

[1] Il définit l'*Homo ferus* comme marchant à «quatre pieds; il est muet, couvert de poils» (Linné 1805: 47).

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de véritables «hommes sauvages» ou plus précisément des cas d'ensauvagement d'hommes qui, après leur naissance, auraient été privés de contacts avec leurs semblables et vécurent hors de la communauté humaine. Ils ne purent donc être socialisés. Ces hommes glissent alors progressivement vers l'animalité. Ils survivent en marge de l'humanité et ébranlent les certitudes sur la nature humaine[2]. Comme le remarque l'historien Hayden White, il est toujours «associé [...] aux lieux reculés – déserts, forêts, jungle, montagnes – ces espaces qui n'ont pas encore été domestiqués»[3]. Nous pouvons citer la célèbre description – très souvent reprise – de Richard Bernheimer qui rédigea en 1952 l'ouvrage de référence sur ce thème: «C'est une homme velu, composé de traits humains et de traits animaux, sans cependant descendre jusqu'au niveau du singe. Il montre, sur une anatomie humaine nue, une forte pilosité, laissant découverts seulement son visage, ses pieds, ses mains, parfois ses genoux et des coudes, ou la poitrine de la femelle de son espèce. Souvent, cette créature se montre traînant une lourde massue ou un tronc d'arbre»[4].

Cette image traverse le temps et l'espace. Son existence remonte à l'Antiquité et il partage l'imaginaire occidental avec les sirènes, cyclopes, monstres acéphales et anencéphalie et autres cynocéphales jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Age, voire la Renaissance dans la littérature, les récits hagiographiques ou de voyages ou le théâtre courtois[5]. C'est «un *topos* de la littérature médiévale» d'après Patrick Del Luca[6]. Le sujet est bien connu et étudié pour l'Europe[7]. Mais si l'on s'intéresse aux représentations de ces hommes sauvages dans l'Amérique espagnole et à leur lointaine origine, guère de travaux sont à notre disposition[8]. Il existe peu de contributions en français qui développent de manière exhaustive cette thématique contrairement aux études anglo-saxonnes[9]. Jean-Paul Duviols est l'un des rares qui ait abordé le sujet[10]. On peut également citer François Gagnon[11]. Duviols étudie

[2] Van Duzer 2013: 387–435.

[3] White 1972: 7.

[4] Bernheimer 1952: 1.

[5] Bernheimer 1952: 12 et suiv.; Dudley, Novak 1972; Husband, Gilmore-House 1980; Bartra 1994; Williams 1996; Kappler 1999; Stahl, Tourame 2010: 1716–1724.

[6] De Luca 2008: 67–82.

[7] Outre l'étude classique de Richard Bernheimer, il existe de nombreux travaux sur des sujets spécifiques comme la représentation de l'homme sauvage dans les Alpes: pour un tour d'horizon bibliographique sur ce thème, cf. Pouvreau 2010: 27–44.

[8] Kinser 1995: 144–160.

[9] Cf. Robe 1972: 39–53; Williams 2012: 1–178; et surtout Mason 1990. Dans cet ouvrage, Mason montre comment l'Europe, face à cet Autre si étrange, projeta sur lui ses représentations héritées de l'Antiquité. Il met en lumière que les hommes sauvages eurent une fonction de médiation très importante dans les premières décennies qui suivirent 1492. Sa thèse est que «l'Amérique faisait déjà partie de l'imaginaire européen comme vision déformée des réalités extra-européennes, et ce, avant même sa découverte» (Thomas 2013: 114). Il s'appuie sur cette idée pour montrer une «déconstruction de l'Amérique» selon le concept développé par Derrida. Il fournit une très belle illustration d'une lecture des représentations par le mythe.

[10] Duviols 1986; *idem* 2006.

[11] Gagnon 1975: 81–103.

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l'image exotique d'une Amérique fabuleuse avec ses sauvages cannibales en portant en grande partie son attention sur le Brésil. Par contre, les races monstrueuses et surtout leurs racines antiques et médiévales sont pour l'essentiel laissées de côté. Il semble donc important de s'intéresser à leurs fondements historiques en proposant de mettre en évidence les ascendances médiévales de ce corps «sauvage» Indien. En ce sens, et reprenant l'anthropologue Peter Mason, les races monstrueuses fonctionnent comme des traducteurs ou mieux, des révélateurs du Nouveau Monde et des images qui lui sont associées[12].

Afin de mieux appréhender l'image du sauvage, nous organiserons notre argumentation en présentant tout d'abord l'iconographie antique et médiévale. Notre propos s'appuie sur une vingtaine d'images produites entre le XIIe et le XVIe siècles, accompagnées de quelques illustrations datant de l'Antiquité. Ce corpus réduit et cohérent permet de mettre en relief les spécificités de cette figure sur la longue durée et de montrer sa translation de l'Europe vers l'Amérique. Ensuite, nous analyserons les premières images produites sur l'homme sauvage américain en tentant de répondre à ce questionnement: quels sont les invariants culturels liés à cette figure mythique qui migrent de l'Europe vers le continent américain et existe-t-il néanmoins quelques spécificités mises en relief par les découvreurs dans le Nouveau Monde?

L'HOMME SAUVAGE DANS L'ANTIQUITE

Le rapprochement entre l'homme et l'animal renvoie vers la plus haute Antiquité ce que l'anthropologue Roger Bartra appelle «le berceau agreste»[13]. En 1997, Gregory Mobley brossait un tableau de cet homme sauvage en Orient antique en s'appuyant sur les importantes réflexions de l'ouvrage classique, déjà entrevu, de Richard Bernheimer[14]. Dès l'Antiquité, particulièrement en Mésopotamie, des légendes décrivent des hommes velus et ce, bien avant la Bible (*Levitique* XVII, 7; 2 *Chroniques* XI, 15) qui recommande aux Hébreux de ne pas s'unir aux être appelés Seïrim, c'est-à-dire «les velus», anges déchus assimilés à des boucs, sous peine de déchéance[15]. L'une des premières figures connue est celle d'Enkidu, personnage de l'*Épopée de Gilgamesh* (IIe millénaire av. J.-C.), une brute sauvage chargée par les dieux de jouer le rôle de sage auprès de Gilgamesh, roi de la cité d'Uruk, personnage violent et sanguinaire (figure 1). Enkidu possède des caractéristiques et des traits qui seront visibles dans l'*homo ferus* médiéval. C'est un enfant trouvé, élevé en pleine nature par sa mère, une gazelle et son père, un âne sauvage. Il est nu et se déplace à quatre pattes aussi rapidement que les animaux de la steppe. Élevé hors de la

[12] Mason 1990: 7. Il emploie l'expression «translators of the New World».
[13] Bartra 1992: 15.
[14] Mobley 1997: 217–233; Bernheimer 1952: 85–120.
[15] Pour une approche de l'homme sauvage chez les Hébreux, cf. White 1972: 10–15.

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civilisation, c'est un être sauvage reconnaissable à sa pilosité: «Son corps est couvert de poils, sa chevelure est celle d'une femme, les touffes de ses cheveux, poussent comme des épis de blé, il est vêtu comme le dieu Soumouqan[16]. Il ne connaît ni les hommes ni les pays, sa seule compagnie est l'animal, avec les gazelles il broute l'herbe, avec les hardes il s'abreuve aux points d'eau»[17]. Son corps velu, son régime alimentaire, ses capacités physiques, son habitat soulignent la dimension animale d'Enkidu et son premier mode de vie qui l'apparentait aux bêtes avec lesquelles il vivait. Il représente tout à la fois les habitants semi-nomades en marge de la société que le survivant d'une première humanité. Cet être, à la fois mi-humain et mi-sauvage, découvre ensuite le monde des hommes et de la civilisation. Tous ces éléments peuvent faire croire qu'Enkidu est un être monstrueux et repoussant, mais deux caractéristiques lui donnent tout de même un aspect plus humain. Dès le début, il est qualifié de «courageux» et sa beauté est mise en valeur par sa longue chevelure blonde. Jeffrey H. Tigay, spécialiste de langue et de littérature hébraïque et sémitique, distingue deux interprétations possibles de cette épopée. La première voit en Enkidu un barbare agreste qui s'assimile progressivement à la vie urbaine mésopotamienne. Selon la seconde, il représente «l'homme primordial» c'est-à-dire l'humanité à l'aube de son évolution[18]. Mobley reprend et synthétise ces arguments. Il conclut qu'Endiku est à la fois un «monstre» qui menace ou interfère dans la culture urbaine; un «barbare agreste» (*rural barbarian*); et le vestige inachevé de la première humanité[19].

Une autre figure familière de l'iconographie mésopotamienne incarne l'homme sauvage, *Lahmu*, qui signifie «poilu» (figure 2). Le personnage traverse tout le Proche-Orient du IIIe au Ier millénaire avec une remarquable continuité. Il est généralement représenté nu, barbu, ceint d'une ceinture rouge, avec quatre à six boucles sur sa tête, réparties symétriquement de chaque côté du visage. Souvent représenté entouré d'animaux, son identification a posé de nombreux problèmes et certains archéologues ont proposé d'y voir un «héros nu», un «héros à six tresses», un «maître des animaux» ou un «homme sauvage». Pourtant, comme pour Endiku, la frontière est poreuse entre la sauvagerie et la civilisation et *Lahmu* la franchit allègrement. Il est tout autant héros que sauvage. En effet, dans les textes rituels, les *lahmu*, puisqu'ils sont au nombre de 50, sont des démons antropaïques serviteurs du dieu Enki qui vivent avec lui dans l'abîme des eaux souterraines[20]. Ce sont également les gardiens des portes d'Enki. Cela signifie que le *lahmu* a été domestiqué et qu'à présent il défend l'ordre établi. Il n'est plus ensauvagé[21].

[16] Dieu de l'agriculture et des troupeaux, il se complaît en compagnie du bétail.

[17] «Enkidou. Les premiers âges» (Azrié 1979: 16).

[18] Tigay 1982: 198–213.

[19] Mobley 1997: 222.

[20] Enki est une divinité importante dans le panthéon mésopotamien. Il est le dieu des eaux douces souterraines mais également de l'exorcisme et de la magie, de la connaissance et de la fertilité.

[21] Wiggermann 1983: 90–105; Mobley 1997: 223–224.

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Fig. 1 – *Enkidu*. Première moitié du IIe millénaire av. J.-C., Iraq Museum, Bagdad, Irak.

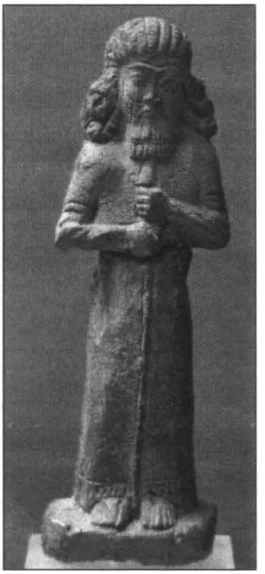

Fig. 2 – *Lahmu*. Période néo-assyrienne (911–612 av. J.-C.). The British Museum, Londres.

La Bible n'est pas avare d'hommes chevelus, de géants, de grands chasseurs tel Nimrod, le «guerrier-chasseur» (*Gen.* 10: 8–11). Au tout début de son existence, Ismaël est associé à la «sauvagerie» (*Gen.* 16: 7; 21: 14, 20, 21). Il est appelé «âne sauvage» (*Gen.* 16: 12) et gagne sa réputation en devenant un archer redoutable. On peut également citer Esaü, «un habile chasseur, un homme des champs» (*Gen.* 25:27) et «un homme velu» (*Gen.* 27: 11) qui dégage une certaine odeur de la nature (*Gen.* 27: 27)[22].

Mais c'est surtout un personnage issu de l'Ancien Testament qui devint l'archétype de l'homme sauvage dans l'imaginaire médiéval européen. Nabuchodonosor, roi de Babylonie, fut puni par Dieu à cause de sa vantardise (figure 3). Banni de la société des hommes, son état de marginal est immédiatement visible par des poils qui lui poussent sur tout le corps. Dorénavant, il vit telle une bête: «Il fut chassé du milieu des hommes, il mangea de l'herbe comme les boeufs, son corps fut trempé de la rosée du ciel; jusqu'à ce que ses cheveux crussent comme les plumes des aigles, et ses ongles comme ceux des oiseaux» (*Livre de Daniel* 4: 33)[23]. Dans l'iconographie, il est presque toujours représenté comme un quadrupède. Daniel s'inspire de la Genèse et de la mythologie assyro-babylonienne et le modèle qui a guidé l'auteur est très probablement Enkidu.

Nous sommes face à des personnages de fiction, rencontrés dans des textes sacrés. Leur but est bien d'édifier le lecteur. Leur impact et fonctions religieuses

[22] Mobley 1997: 226–228.
[23] Coxon 1993: 211–222.

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sont primordiaux. Le sacré est partout présent. A partir de l'époque grecque, c'est une vision fabuleuse et «profane» de ces êtres qui est offerte avec l'invention de personnages imaginaires que ce soit en Afrique ou en Asie[24]. Nous sommes dans le domaine de la fiction bien que les descriptions se veulent réalistes, fruit d'un travail supposé d'observation de la part des auteurs qui, au final, inventent des peuples fabuleux. Comme l'explique Claire Muckensturm-Poulle, «la vision imaginaire des Indiens par les Grecs ne s'explique donc pas seulement par une information lacunaire, mais par leur goût pour le *thauma*, l'étonnant, le merveilleux»[25].

Trois célèbres auteurs grecs, Hérodote, Ctésias et Mégasthènes, portent leur regard sur les êtres singuliers qui se rapprochent plus des monstres que des hommes sauvages proprement dit[26]. Ils sont les seuls dont les textes, parfois fragmentaires, nous soient parvenus. Hérodote et Ctésias n'ont recueilli que des informations éparses et assez fragiles. Au Ve siècle av. J.-C., dans l'*Enquête*, Hérodote fut l'un des premiers à décrire de manière exhaustive de tels personnages aux mœurs si singulières évoluant dans des territoires étranges et lointains. Ces hommes étaient nimbés de mystères même si la plupart ne sont pas velus mais des êtres au corps difforme ou étrange. Il en situe certains à l'ouest de la Lybie actuelle et distingue les Blemmyes ou acéphales dont le visage se situe au milieu la poitrine et les Cynocéphales à tête de chien (*Histoires*, IV, 191)[27] (figure 4). Pourtant, il ne croit pas aux peuples monstrueux et à l'existence d'hommes dont le corps serait différent du corps humain (*Histoires*, III, 116; IV, 25).

Fig. 3 – Nabuchodonosor en homme sauvage. Rudolph von Ems, *Chronique universelle*, Regensburg, v. 400–1410.

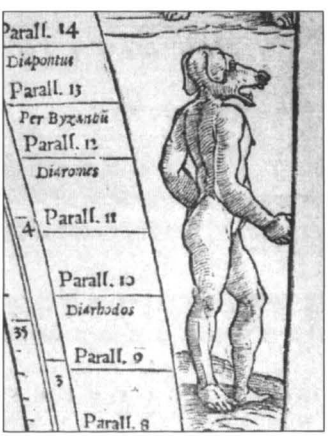

Fig. 4 – Cynocéphale, «Tabula Asiae VIII», Claudius Ptolemaeus 1552: *Geographiae Claudii Ptolemaei Alexandrini*... Libri VIII, Basileae: ex officina Henrichi Petri.

[24] Van Duzer 2013: 396–417.
[25] Muckensturm-Poulle 2010: 57.
[26] Lenfant 1995: 309–336; Muckensturm-Poulle 2010: 57–71; Peigney 2003: 31–50.
[27] Lecouteux 1981: 117–119.

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Après Hérodote, leur localisation prend une toute autre direction avec les écrits de Ctésias de Cnide (V^e^ siècle av. J.C.), médecin à la cour du souverain perse Artaxerxès Mnemon. L'Inde de cet auteur est connue par ses côtés fabuleux. Il fait entrer le sous-continent et ses supposées créatures fantastiques dans l'imaginaire grec. A son retour en Grèce vers 397 av. J.-C., Ctésias rédige un récit de voyage après son périple sur l'Indus. Il mentionne tout d'abord les Choramnaiens, peuple sauvage de Perse, ainsi qu'il le raconte dans *Persica* (*Persica*, F. 9, § 8). Selon Etienne de Byzance qui s'appuie sur Ctésias, cet «homme sauvage est si rapide qu'il peut même rattraper les biches à la course» (*Persica*, F. 12). Ctésias est plus prolixe sur les peuples de l'Inde et n'oublie pas les Cynocéphales, mi-hommes, mi-animaux à tête de chien avec des griffes plus longues et plus crochues que celles des canidés:

«Il dit que dans ces montagnes vivent des hommes qui ont une tête de chien. Ils portent des vêtements tirés des bêtes sauvages, ils ne parlent aucune langue, mais hurlent comme des chiens et comprennent ainsi leur langage. Ils ont des dents plus longues que celles d'un chien et des griffes comme celles d'un chien, mais plus longues et plus crochues. Ils peuplent les montagnes jusqu'à l'Indus, ils sont noirs et parfaitement justes [...]. Hommes et femmes, ils ont tous une queue au-dessus de la croupe, pareille à celle d'un chien, mais longue et plus touffue» (*Indica*, F. 45, § 37; 43).

Il décrit encore des peuples dont les oreilles sont si grandes qu'elles enveloppent le dos tout entier et recouvrent leurs bras jusqu'au coude (*Indica*, F. 45, § 50). Il s'attarde sur les Pygmées, ici déplacés de l'Afrique vers l'Inde, des hommes noirs dont le nom signifie littéralement ceux qui sont hauts d'une coudée, soit environ 50 cm (figure 5). Physiquement, ils ne sont pas différents des Indiens mais ce sont des êtres miniatures qui portent de longues barbes et de longs cheveux:

«Ils sont très petits. Les plus grands d'entre eux mesurent deux coudées, mais la plupart font une coudée et demie. Ils ont de très longs cheveux qui leur descendent jusqu'aux genoux ou plus bas encore et une barbe la plus longue du monde. Donc, lorsqu'ils se sont fait pousser une longue barbe, ils ne mettent aucun vêtement, mais laissent tomber leurs cheveux par derrière bien au-dessous de leurs genoux et les poils de leur barbe traîner par devant jusqu'à leurs pieds, puis ils se couvrent tout le corps d'épaisses touffes de poils et s'en enveloppent, les utilisant en guise de vêtement. Ils ont un sexe si long qu'il leur touche les chevilles, un sexe épais. Ils sont eux-mêmes camards et laids» (*Indica*, F. 45, § 21).

Ils sont velus à souhait. Cette pilosité les pousse vers l'animalité et elle semble un point important pour caractériser les individus qui s'écartent de la norme humaine. C'est le cas des Indiens des montagnes qui connaissent un développement pileux étonnant: les nouveau-nés ont les cheveux et les sourcils blancs (*Indica*, F. 45, § 50).

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Fig. 5 – Pygmées combattant une grue. Mosaïque de la cité romaine d'Italica (Andalousie, Espagne).

Les campagnes d'Alexandre en 326 av. J.-C. permettent de poser un regard plus réaliste sur l'Inde. Entre 300 et 290 av. J.-C., le géographe Mégasthènes fut l'ambassadeur de Seleucos Nicator auprès d'un souverain indien installé à Paliputra sur le Gange. Seulement connu grâce à des fragments recueillis par Diodore de Sicile, Strabon, Arrien ou encore Pline l'Ancien et Elien, il signale dans ses *Indika* des peuples étranges qu'il mentionne explicitement comme sauvages. Les Enotocŕtes, ont les pieds renversés, à savoir le talon en avant et le cou-de-pied ainsi que les doigts tournés en arrière et ils sont reconnaissables à leurs longues oreilles qui leur pendent jusqu'aux pieds (Strabon, *Géographie*, XV, 1, § 57) (figure 6). D'autres, issus d'une tribu d'indigènes forestiers n'ont pas de bouches et se nourrissent du fumet des viandes cuites, et du parfum des fruits et des fleurs (Strabon, *Géographie*, XV, 1, § 57); les Monommates cumulent deux monstruosités: des oreilles de chien et un śil unique au milieu du front, mais également une chevelure hérissée et une poitrine velue (Strabon, *Géographie*, XV, 1, § 57). Il mentionne la peuplade classique des Cynocéphales aux ongles acérées qui aboient et vivent de la chasse (Pline, *Histoire naturelle*, VII, 2, § 15). Ce sont là des anti-humains et pour certains des peuples fabuleux qui vivent dans les marges et les confins, à l'opposé du centre grec.

Ces races monstrueuses ne sont pas l'apanage de l'Inde. L'Afrique regorge d'êtres fantastiques[28]. Pline rapporte qu'un peuple d'Ethiopie, les Cynamolges,

[28] Van Duzer 2013: 396–398.

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possèdent une tête de chien (*Histoire naturelle*, VI, 35, § 17). Au IIIe siècle, Philostrate mentionne également qu'en Ethiopie existerait des «cynocéphales et autres monstres»[29].

Fig. 6 – Créatures des Indes décrite par Mégasthènes, Sebastian Münster 1552: *Cosmographia universalis. Libri VI, Basileae: ex officina Henrichi Petri: 1080.*

Au Ier siècle, Quinte-Curce (*Histoires*, IX, 10, § 8–10) raconte qu'Alexandre rencontra une tribu de sauvages piscivores pendant sa campagne aux portes des Indes. Il détaille leurs longs ongles, leurs cheveux hirsutes et leurs habits en peaux de bêtes. Ils s'appuient sur un texte apocryphe *Lettre à Aristote sur les merveilles de l'Inde*, qui aurait été rédigée par Alexandre le Grand et qui sera à l'origine du *Roman d'Alexandre*, œuvre célèbre pendant tout le Moyen Age. Cette lettre accompagnait souvent les manuscrits sur la vie d'Alexandre attribuée à Callisthène, neveu d'Aristote, qui le suivit dans ses expéditions.

Les Grecs ne sont pas les seuls à décrire des êtres fantastiques. Les Carthaginois, infatigables voyageurs, dépassèrent les limites du monde connu et s'aventurèrent le long des côtes africaines. Ils sont alors confrontés à des êtres étranges qu'ils assimilent à des peuples monstrueux. Certains de ces récits de voyages ne tombent pas dans le fantastique et l'imaginaire. Au contraire, les explorateurs sont face à une réalité qu'ils ont beaucoup de mal à interpréter et leur grille d'analyse s'appuie sur des schèmes mentaux et des traditions, seules à même de fournir un cadre cohérent d'explications.

L'explorateur carthaginois Hannon relate une rencontre avec des hommes sauvages et des femmes velues, peut-être dans une région correspondant à l'actuelle

[29] Chassang 1862: VI, 1.

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Sierra Leone: «XVIII. Dans l'enfoncement était une île, semblable à la première, contenant un lac, à l'intérieur duquel il y avait une autre île, pleine d'hommes sauvages. Les femmes étaient de beaucoup les plus nombreuses. Elles avaient le corps velu et les interprètes les appelaient Gorilles. Nous poursuivîmes des mâles, sans pouvoir en prendre aucun, car ils étaient bons grimpeurs et se défendaient»[30].

Non loin du Cap Bojador, ils rencontrent d'autres êtres fantastiques: «IX. De là, passant par un grand fleuve, le Chrétès, nous arrivâmes à un lac qui renfermait trois îles, plus grandes que Cerné. Partant de ces îles, nous fîmes un jour de navigation et arrivâmes au fond du lac, que dominaient de très grandes montagnes, pleines d'hommes sauvages, vêtus de peaux de bêtes, qui, nous lançant des pierres, nous empêchèrent de débarquer»[31].

Ces êtres velus sont présentés comme des hommes sauvages. Les interprètes des Carthiginois les nomment «Gorillae». Cette histoire donna par la suite naissance au nom de gorille, et fait peut-être référence à ce grand singe. De même, l'historien grec Agatharchide signale une tribu de «mangeurs de graines» et de «mangeurs de bois» agiles qui vivent en Éthiopie, peut-être des chimpanzés[32].

Au IIIe siècle de notre ère, ces êtres fantastiques quittent les récits de voyages pour faire leur entrée dans les romans. L'héritage antique des races monstrueuses ou extraordinaires se trouve, de la même façon, systématisé dans un des récits les plus populaires au Moyen Âge: *Le Roman d'Alexandre* qui offre aux lecteurs des catégories de monstres situées essentiellement dans l'est du continent, au-delà du Don, dans les marges européennes[33]. Le Pseudo-Callisthène raconte la rencontre de l'illustre Macédonien avec des hommes à tête de chien. Ainsi, tous les stéréotypes existants dans le récit de cet auteur auraient été recueillis dans des traités de l'Antiquité, que ce soient les écrits d'Hérodote, de Strabon, de Pline puis abondamment recopiés et commentés au Moyen Âge. Au IIIe siècle, Solin dans *Collectanea Rerum memorabilium*, s'attarde sur ces légendes et leur donne encore un plus grand écho que Pline. Les écrits de Solin et au Ve siècle, ceux de Martinius Capella, auteur de *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, furent parmi les principales sources des auteurs médiévaux[34].

L'Eglise commence également à s'intéresser aux hommes sauvages et aux êtres hybrides. Augustin est probablement celui qui se passionne le plus à cette

[30] Hannon 1864: 31.

[31] Hannon 1864: 29.

[32] Bernheimer 1952: 87–88.

[33] Velazco y Trianosky 2012: 52–57. Cette association entre races monstrueuses et les confins de l'Europe est réactivée par l'irruption brutale des Tatars en 1240 et les montagnes de ruines qu'ils laissent après leur passage. Leur cruauté glace d'effroi le chroniqueur Matthieu Paris qui les décrit comme des monstres: «ce sont des êtres inhumains et ressemblant à des bêtes, qu'on doit appeler plutôt des monstres que des hommes, qui ont soif de sang, et qui en boivent, qui déchirent et dévorent la chair des chiens et même la chair humaine, ayant des cuirs de taureaux pour vêtements» (Matthieu Paris 1840: 99).

[34] Husband, Gilmore-House 1980: 6–8.

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question dans la *Cité de Dieu* en consacrant tout un chapitre aux êtres monstrueux (XVI–8). Il s'inspire de Pline et pose l'interrogation suivante: «Comment intégrer dans la doctrine chrétienne des monstres attestés depuis l'Antiquité pad'enne?»[35]. Au VIIe siècle, Isidore de Séville se réfère explicitement à Pline et à Solin dans ses *Etymologiae* tout en recopiant ce qu'écrivait l'évêque d'Hippone. Ses réflexions constituent la base du savoir géographique médiéval mais elles posent le problème de la création du monde et de la conception monogénétique du genre humain. Les auteurs médiévaux se recopient les uns les autres tel Raban Maur au IXe siècle qui reprend textuellement Isidore. Ensuite, la tradition est perpétuée dans l'*Imago Mundi* d'Honorius Augustodunensis (XIIe siècle) qui parle des peuples étranges de l'Inde, en particulier les Cynocéphales: «il y a des monstres que les uns ont décrit comme des monstres, les autres comme des animaux [...]. Certains ont une tête de chien, des ongles crochus, se vêtent de peaux de bêtes et aboient comme des chiens»[36].

Au XIIIe siècle, le mythe atteint un point culminant avec Gervais de Tilbury et ses *Otia Imperialia*, l'*Imago Mundi* de Walter von Metz, l'*Historia orientalis* de Jacques de Vitry, *Weltchronik* de Rudolph von Ems, les travaux importants de Vincent de Beauvais dans *Speculum naturale*[37]. On peut encore citer Brunetto Latini[38]. Tous sont les héritiers de la tradition isidorienne dont les traces sont visibles dans les dessins de la carte d'Ebstorf (XIIIe siècle) avec des représentations d'humanités monstrueuses que ce soit des hommes avec une tête de chien ou des oreilles géantes, des centaures ou des sciapodes[39]. Selon Estella Antoaneta Ciobanu, les *mappa mundi* médiévales offrent un bon exemple de cette opposition entre, d'un côté, le «rationnel» incarné par un savoir situé dans la ville et le «sauvage» symbole de chaos, de monstruosité aux marges de la société[40].

L'héritage antique des races monstrueuses ou extraordinaires se trouve, de la même façon, systématisé dans un des récits les plus populaires au Moyen Âge déjà entrevu: *Le Roman d'Alexandre* qui offre aux lecteurs des catégories de monstres. L'autorité des classiques est telle qu'elle traverse les siècles sans qu'on la remette véritablement en cause. Par exemple, le récit d'Hérodote sur les hommes à tête de chien est quasiment repris à l'identique par Hartmann Schedel au XVe siècle[41]. La pierre en porte également la trace tel le célèbre tympan de Vézelay et ses hommes à tête de chien ou aux oreilles larges qui entourent le compartiment central où l'on voit le Christ qui envoie l'Esprit-Saint sur les apôtres[42].

Les auteurs médiévaux portèrent une attention particulière envers ces êtres étranges, non seulement en raison de leur aspect extraordinaire mais surtout parce

[35] Rubio Tovar 2006: 129–130.
[36] Cité par Lecoq 1990: 185.
[37] Classen 2012: 20–28.
[38] Husband, Gilmore-House 1980: 6–7; Lecouteux 1981: 119–120.
[39] Gagnon 1975: 91.
[40] Ciobanu 2012: 147–163.
[41] Schedel 1493: f° 12r.
[42] Mâle 1910: 77; Rubio Tovar 2006: 132–134.

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qu'ils exprimaient une profonde charge théologique et philosophique qui les fit réfléchir sur leur propre humanité[43]. Ces races monstrueuses hantent l'imagination médiévale dans un remarquable *continuum* avec l'Antiquité. Elles croisent et se mêlent parfois aux hommes sauvages. Les deux mythes sont irrémédiablement liés puisqu'ils se nourrissent mutuellement. Certains traits repoussants sont communs aux uns et aux autres dont le corps n'est pas un des moindres symboles. Comment se présente cet homme sauvage pendant la période médiévale? Quels sont les principaux critères qui le qualifient? Existe-t-il d'importantes différences selon les lieux et les époques?

L'ICONOGRAPHIE MEDIEVALE

L'homme sauvage et velu renvoie peut-être à la construction des mythes, mais c'est un fait de société qui imprègne la mentalité humaine quelles que soient les cultures[44]. Claude Lévi-Strauss n'oublie pas de rappeler que l'attitude la plus ancienne et la plus spontanée consiste à «répudier purement et simplement les formes culturelles» les plus éloignées des nôtres en les stigmatisant par exemple sous la forme d'hommes sauvages[45]. Nous allons en présenter une typologie. Celle-ci montre bien l'influence des hommes des bois sur l'imaginaire de la société médiévale. Etres aussi bien fantasmés que craints, parés de vertus positives ou bien perçus avec inquiétude et horreur, ces créatures ne laissèrent pas indifférents et s'ancrèrent dans la mythologie populaire. La croyance des Européens en des hommes étranges resta fermement enracinée dans le folklore et dans toutes les classes sociales, sans distinction aucune. L'homme sauvage est peut-être un fantasme, mais il est investi de forces extraordinaires, véritables territoires de l'inconscient. La figure de «rustrerie» qui lui est associée personnifie le plus souvent une image négative projetée sur les paysans, proches de la nature et de la forêt, mais pas seulement. Certes, il était considéré comme un inquiétant démon qui rôde près des lieux civilisés. Néanmoins, cet homme sauvage censé marquer la frontière entre l'humain et l'animal, apparaît comme le garant de la démarcation entre le merveilleux et le maléfique ce qui démontre un statut très ambigüe[46].

Traditionnellement, les traits caractéristiques de l'homme sauvage dénommé également *homo sylvestris* (homme des bois) ou encore *homo ferus* (homme animal) peuvent être rangés dans trois catégories. Tout d'abord, physiquement, c'est un personnage velu qui combine des traits humains et des traits animaux, sans descendre jusqu'au rang du singe (figure 7). Dans son étude, Bernheimer observe que le trait physique le plus caractéristique de l'homme sauvage renvoie vers sa pilosité[47]. Il est *hirsutus* et possède une abondante barbe, des cheveux longs et touffus,

[43] Verner 2005; Schumacher 1993.
[44] Burke 2004: 27–37.
[45] Lévi-Strauss 1968: 19–20.
[46] De Luca 2008: 67–76.
[47] Bernheimer 1952: 1.

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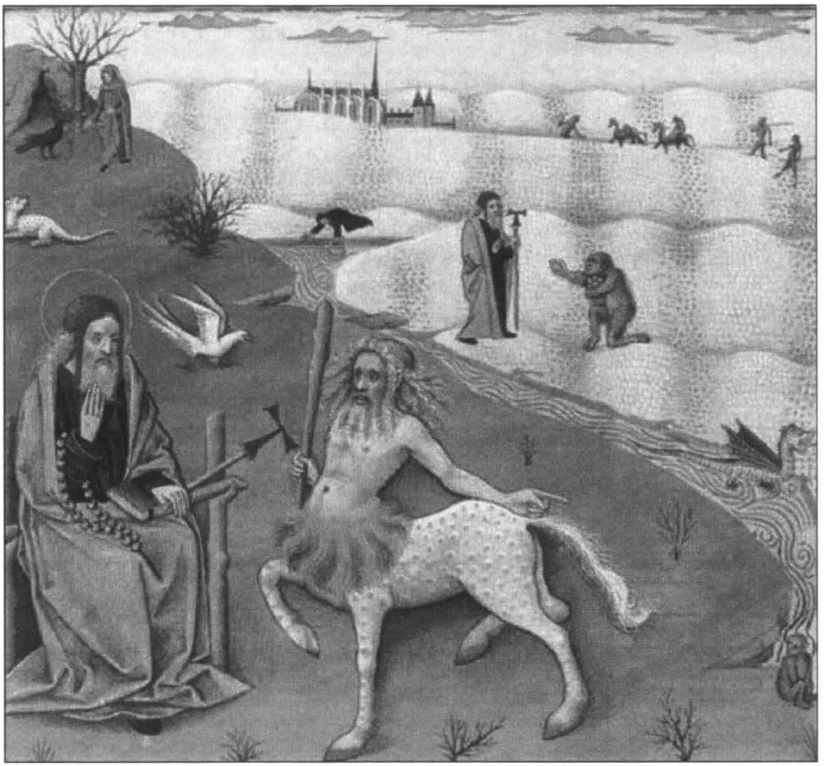

Fig. 7 – Saint Antoine et le centaure. *Secrets d'histoire naturelle*, d'après Solin (v. 1480–1485). BNF, Manuscrits, Français 22971, f°. 16v: «Il trouva en chemin un monstre très hideux, fait d'une terrible façon, moitié homme et moitié cheval [...]. En fond, on aperçoit un homme velu agenouillé».

tantôt bien coiffés, tantôt sales et emmêlés où s'enchevêtrent de la mousse et d'autres végétaux. Dans un bois gravé de 1530 sa chevelure est couverte de feuillage (figure 8). Il apparaît également ainsi dans les armes de la famille de Gottignies, une commune du Brabant, avec cette devise: «Trois maillets de sable et une couronne de comte supportés par deux hommes sauvages cintrés et couronnés de feuilles de lierre, tenant chacun d'une main une massue renversée» (figure 9). Ce signe distinctif est surtout présent aux XVe et XVIe siècle avec des guirlandes de fleurs sur la tête. Il a parfois le corps entièrement recouvert de poils sauf le visage, les mains et les pieds et pour les femmes, la poitrine (figure 10, 11)[48]. L'absence de poils est également visible sur les coudes et les genoux. Aussi, bien souvent, les chroniqueurs le compare à un ours. Quand Renaud de Montaubon décrit des marginaux, personnifiés par l'homme sauvage, il les caractérise comme «noir somes et velu com ours enchaisnés»[49].

[48] Bernheimer 1952: 96–98.
[49] Tarbé 1861: 106.

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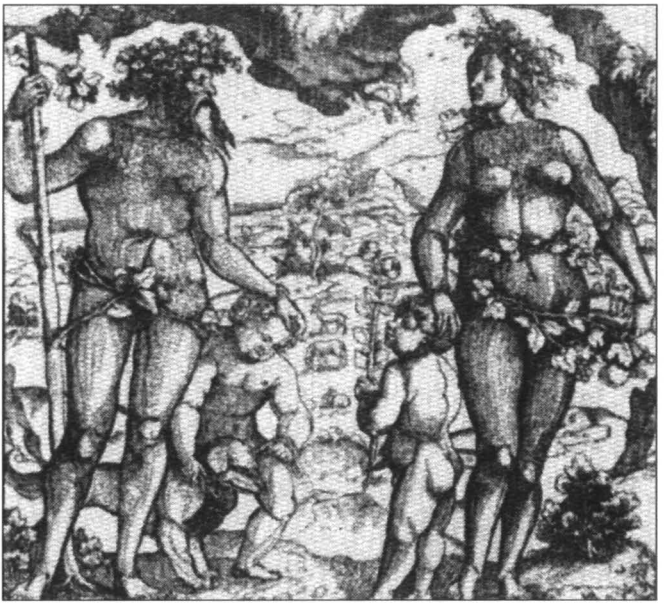

Fig. 8 – Couple de sauvages. Bois gravé d'Hans Schäufelein, Allemagne, v. 1530. Tiré de Husband, Gilmore-House 1980: 133.

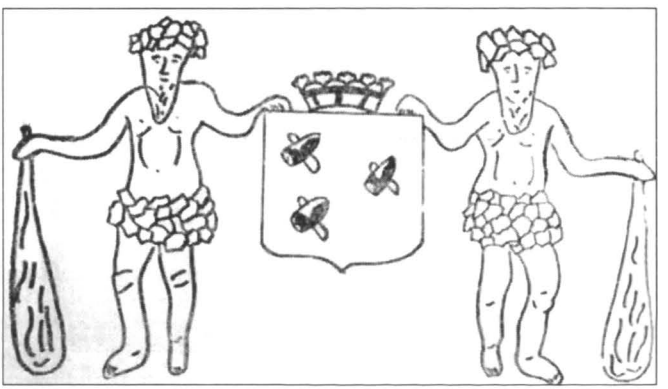

Fig. 9 – Armes de la famille de Gottignies (Brabant) du XVIIIe s.

Il est nu ou bien simplement vêtu d'un pagne en peau de bête ou d'origine végétale. Il peut porter une ceinture de feuilles de vigne ou de branches entremêlées. Entre les mondes humains, animaux et divins, les relations géographiques construisent une représentation de l'altérité, relevant d'une humanité étrange. C'est ainsi que les descriptions des peuples, situés aux limites du monde connu, regorgent d'humanités hybrides. A partir du XIIe siècle, la pilosité devient une convention iconographique. Elle indique que cet individu évolue hors de la société civilisée.

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Fig. 10 – Fresque de «La Camera Picta de Sacco» (1464). Musée de l'homme sauvage (Valtellino, Italie).

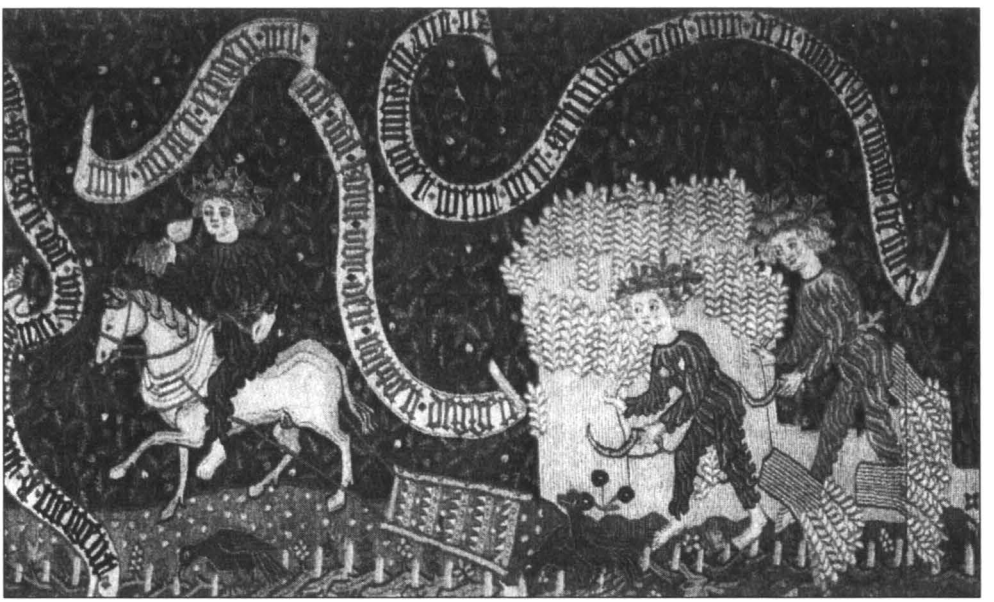

Fig. 11 – Couple de sauvages travaillant dans les champs. Tapisserie (Suisse), v. 1480. Tiré de Husband, Gilmore-House 1980: 30.

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Sa taille varie selon les époques. Au début du Moyen Age, le gigantisme est associé à l'homme sauvage, symbole de sa stupidité. Pourtant, il détient le pouvoir de grandir ou de rapetisser à volonté comme le rapporte au XIIIe siècle César de Heisterbach qui aurait reçu les confidences d'un clerc, témoin de cette transformation[50]. Par contre, aux XIVe et XVe siècles, de nombreux textes décrivent un lilliputien caché parmi les feuilles et les plantes de la forêt. Exceptionnellement, certains d'entre eux ont des attributs très spécifiques tel que cet homme représenté avec six doigts (figure 12).

La sauvagerie se reconnaît à certains objets portés par ces hommes sylvestres. Souvent, ils traînent une lourde massue ou un tronc d'arbre comme c'est le cas sur cette monnaie frappée en 1503 (figure 13). Il s'agit d'attributs universels parfois portés sur l'épaule. Chrétien de Troyes décrit un ogre sauvage, noir comme un Maure, grand et hideux, assis sur une souche d'arbre et tenant une grosse massue en mains: «uns vilains, qui resambloit mor/grans et hideus a desmesure [...] Illuec seoit seur une çouche/Une grant machue en se main»[51].

Fig. 12 – «Hommes sauvages velus, ayant six doigts». Jacob van Maerlan v. 1340–1350: *Der naturen bloeme*. Utrecht: Gheraert van Lienhout: f° 42r.

Fig. 13 – Homme sauvage sur une monnaie de 1503. Gravure de Hans Burgkmair Le Vieux.

Seconde spécificité de l'homme sauvage: il ne possède pas de langage articulé. Il est incapable de parler. Il pousse seulement des interjections, des cris d'animaux, des sons inintelligibles pour l'oreille humaine, ce que Ciobanu résume par l'expression «linguistically inarticulate»[52]. Dans le roman *Valentin et Orson* (XVe siècle), les deux frères, l'un est chevalier, le second un homme sauvage reclus dans une forêt, ne communiquent que par signes tant Orson, le sauvage, ne peut articuler un quelconque mot[53]. C'est le signe d'une raison et d'une intelligence

[50] Cité par Bernheimer 1952: 45.
[51] Yvain 1994: 66 (l. 286–287/290–291).
[52] Ciobanu 2012: 162–163.
[53] *L'Histoire de Valentin et Orson*... 1698: n. p., c. XII.

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limitées, d'un être naturellement irrationnel et violent[54]. *Valentin et Orson* offre une belle synthèse de l'opposition entre le civilisé et le sauvage. Valentin, le preux chevalier, décide d'aller combattre le sauvage, Orson, sans savoir qu'il s'agit de son frère. En effet, ils sont séparés depuis la naissance. L'un est adopté par le roi Pépin et devient chevalier, l'autre est élevé par un ours. Lors de cet affrontement, l'irrationalité d'Orson se manifeste de différentes manières: il embrasse avec joie le cheval de Valentin comme si tous deux appartenaient au même règne animal; il «pousse un cri si grand qu'il fit retentir tout le bois»; il peut rompre aisément un arbre ou entrer dans une terrible et irrépressible colère. Enfin, il vit dans l'ignorance de Dieu et n'a pas d'âme: «[Vous] n'avez cognoissance de Dieu ne de la saincte foy, paquoy vostre ame est en grand danger, venez vous en avec moy & vous seray baptiser & apprendre la saincte foy [...]»[55]. Pour vaincre définitivement son frère, Valentin lui tient un discours où la religion rempli une place importante. La volonté du Seigneur a raison du sauvage qui se jette à ses pieds pour demander pardon. Patrick Del Luca rappelle opportunément que «l'homme sauvage n'est pas une créature de Dieu car il est avant tout un homme qui a régressé»[56]. Mais il peut se racheter.

Cette absence de rationalité est due pour partie au fait de seulement côtoyer des animaux et de vivre isolé au plus profond des forêts, loin des hommes, dans des lieux inhospitaliers. La créature agreste évite le plus possible les contacts avec les humains. Son habitat est en plein air ou dans des grottes, des abris de fortune situés dans des lieux marginaux comme les forêts, les montagnes ou les déserts. Cette nature, bien souvent un espace symbolique et artificiel créé par l'imagination humaine, permet donc d'établir des normes comportementales. Selon l'anthropologue Roger Bartra, «l'homme sauvage a une relation avec la nature qui, par analogie, établit un modèle de comportement social et psychologique qui se fond et se confond avec son milieu ambiant. C'est un homme proche de la nature, symétriquement opposé à l'homme social chrétien»[57].

Troisième trait principal: le régime cru. Il se nourrit de viandes non cuites ou de végétaux, fruits, herbe, racines, tubercules, ingurgités au hasard de ses déplacements. Ignorant de l'agriculture, il chasse et pêche pour assurer sa subsistance. Lorsqu'il capture une proie, il la dévore sans la faire cuire. «[...] Et si menjue/La venoison trestoute crue» assure Chrétien de Troyes dans *Yvain*[58]. Au retour de la forêt, Valentin s'arrête dans une auberge avec Orson pour dîner. Sans attendre que cuise la viande, le sauvage «mist la main à la broche, & ne demanda pas si elle estoit cuitte: mais la mangea»[59]. C'est parfois un adepte du cannibalisme, aussi, au XVIe siècle, est-il associé au loup-garou et aux anthropophages (figure 14). Son isolement, son absence de langage pour communiquer, sa force surhumaine et sa proximité avec

[54] Schwam-Baird 2002: 238–252.
[55] *L'Histoire de Valentin et Orson...* 1698: n. p., c. XII.
[56] De Luca 2008: 67.
[57] Bartra 1992: 90–91.
[58] Yvain 1994: 224 (l. 2825–2826).
[59] *L'Histoire de Valentin et Orson...* 1698: n. p., c. XIII.

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les animaux rendent le personnage incontrôlable, violent et agressif. Gregory Mobley emploie l'expression «perpetual aggressiveness» pour bien rendre compte d'une personnalité très frustre et non policée, au comportement menaçant, voire terrifiant[60].

L'homme sauvage n'est pas seulement ce personnage inquiétant, symbole du chaos, de la folie, de la marginalité, de l'impiété, loin s'en faut. Cette image négative subit une certaine évolution à la fin du Moyen Age. Avec le christianisme, des figures nouvelles émergent comme l'ermite associé à l'ensauvagement et qui marche à quatre pattes tout en se nourrissant d'herbe. L'héritage de l'Europe du Nord est prégnant dans la figure de Merlin qui devient pileux quand il se retire. Aux XIVe–XVe siècle, la vision de l'homme s'apaise. Il vit simplement en toute humilité en adéquation avec la nature. Il devient un contre-modèle individuel qui se réfère au modèle chrétien de l'ascète, de la pauvreté et de l'innocence[61]. Il est opposé aux péchés de la société corrompue et dans les années 1420 il est même représenté avec une famille (figure 15). C'est un archétype de fécondité et non plus seulement de sexualité débridée. Il devient un exemple de cheminement personnel vers la conversion. Curieux retournement de situation!

Fig. 14 – Cannibale ou loup-garou. Bois gravé de Lucas Cranach l'Ancien (1510–1515). Tiré de Husband, Gilmore-House 1980: 111.

Fig. 15 – Famille sauvage. Gravure allemande (1470–1490). Tiré de Husband, Gilmore-House 1980: 11.

[60] Mobley: 1997: 218.

[61] Husband, Gilmore-House 1980: 5.

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Au XVe siècle, le théologien strasbourgeois Geiler von Kayserberg résume parfaitement ce qu'est devenu l'homme sauvage dans l'ouvrage *Die Emeis*, un recueil de sermons. Il distingue cinq catégories: le *solitarii* ou le saint pénitent; le *sacchani*, satyre qui vit éloigné dans le désert tel saint Antoine; l'*hispani*, un type particulier de personne démente; le *piginini* ou pygmée; enfin, le *diaboli*, créature identifiée avec l'homme sauvage et appelée «diable»[62].

Ces descriptions physiques de l'homme sauvage n'en étaient pas moins aussi imaginaires que celle de l'homme monstrueux ou hybride bien présent dans l'imagerie médiévale[63]. L'intention des artistes n'était pas de peindre les véritables hommes des confins mais essentiellement d'exprimer sous une forme sublimée la relation du Chrétien aux humanités étrangères. Comme cette correspondance se définissait principalement en terme de marginalité des humanités, c'est une nuance dans l'expression de celles-ci qu'apportaient les représentations d'hommes sauvages. Rappelons également que la pilosité était connotée très négativement dans les traités de physiognomonie. Le *Traité de physiognomonie* de l'Anonyme latin, probablement rédigé à la fin du IV^{e} siècle et redécouvert au XII^{e} siècle consacra de longs développements au rapport pilosité-traits de caractère négatifs (§ 13, 14, 73, 103)[64]. Le traité associe également les hommes méchants, laids et grotesques comme le singe au fait de porter une barbe.

L'homme sauvage est éloigné de la cité, de la civilisation, géographiquement et sociologiquement. Dans une société qui se définit hiérarchiquement, il occupe le dernier rang, le bas de la pyramide sociale. On peut représenter schématiquement cette hiérarchie de la manière suivante, en reprenant les deux croquis tout à fait éclairants de François Gagnon. Au fondement de l'image de l'homme des marges comme monstre, on trouve une figuration concentrique de l'univers humain[65] (fig. 16). Par contre, l'image de l'homme sauvage renvoie à une structure imaginaire stratigraphiée en pyramide (fig. 17).

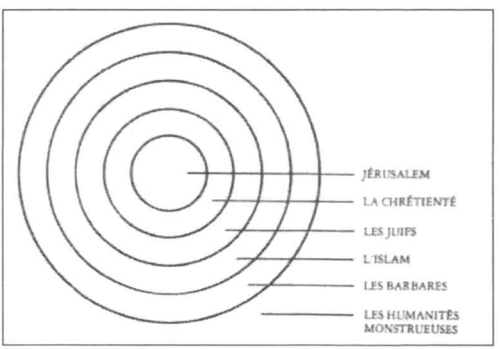

Fig. 16 – Représentation concentrique de l'univers humain. Gagnon 1975: 86.

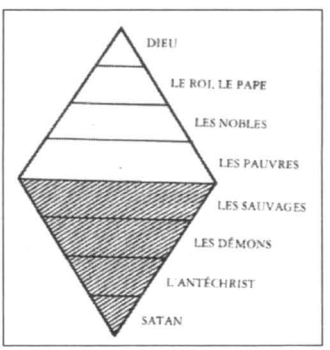

Fig. 17 – Structure imaginaire de l'humanité sous forme de pyramide. Gagnon 1975: 87.

[62] Husband, Gilmore-House 1980: 12.
[63] Friedman 2000: 37–86.
[64] *Traité de physiognomonie* 1981.
[65] Gagnon 1975: 86.

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LE SAUVAGE AMERICAIN

Nous avons esquissé précédemment une typologie de l'homme sauvage et velu. A présent, il est donc possible de le reconnaître. Mais quel comportement adopter en face de tels hommes? Que nous enseignent sur nous-même ces êtres qui nous sont à la fois semblables et perçus comme si différents, voire inquiétants? C'est tout d'abord l'antithèse du chevalier et à l'inverse de cet idéal, il représente l'impulsivité brute et bien souvent incontrôlable que ne réfrène aucune norme sociale. Sa force brutale peut se déchainer et son physique peu avenant ne militent pas en sa faveur. Il est libre de toute règle et morale chrétienne. Son existence et sa physionomie symbolisent la vie animale élémentaire qui demeure toujours sous-jacente derrière la domestication chrétienne des instincts et derrière le modèle de chevalerie considéré comme une norme indépassable. C'est là aussi son ambivalence. S'il inspire de la crainte et de la terreur, il est aussi le symbole de l'exubérance, des secrets de la terre. Il est aussi admiré pour la rudesse de son existence et sa vie proche de la nature comme les premiers hommes[66].

Pourtant, si à l'origine, l'homme sauvage apparaît comme un éternel vaincu face au chevalier et toujours vilipendé et moqué, il peut devenir un vainqueur possible, voire souhaitable au fur et à mesure que l'on se rapproche de la fin du Moyen Âge. En effet, il symbole d'une certaine manière la joie de vivre, l'absence de contrainte face aux règles de vie imposées et aux normes sociales contraignantes. Cela peut être mis en parallèle avec l'affaiblissement de la mentalité chrétienne médiévale et d'une déprise de l'Église sur la société, ainsi qu'à un recul de l'esprit chevaleresque. Il devient l'indicateur d'une existence en harmonie avec la nature. Cela transparaît dans un poème de Hans Sachs (1494–1576); des hommes sauvages s'adressent aux citadins pour vanter leur propre mode de vie défini par les termes suivants: simplicité, humilité du mode de vie, loyauté dans le comportement alors que les citadins sont sans éducation, fourbes, déloyaux, faux[67]. C'est le mythe de l'âge d'or et du retour à la nature non dépravée, vierge d'influences humaines néfastes.

Pourtant, il ne faut pas se méprendre sur cette vision relativement positive de l'homme sauvage dans certains cas bien spécifiques. Plus globalement, autour d'un noyau central symbolisé par l'homme blanc, adulte, civilisé, courtois et chrétien s'étalent les cercles concentriques de l'humanité différente et à l'écart de la norme. Ces cercles s'éloignent progressivement du centre et là prennent place des peuples étranges et qui touchent par leur périphérie à l'animalité et à méfiance. Qu'en est-il en Amérique à l'orée du XVI^{e} siècle?

La littérature médiévale espagnole porte trace d'hommes sauvages. Une légende basque rapporte l'histoire d'un jeune garçon aussi fort que 40 hommes qui doit quitter le domicile de ses parents car ceux-ci sont trop pauvres pour assouvir son appétit vorace[68]. Un autre conte populaire reprend le même thème. Il a pour

[66] White 1972: 3–38; Bernheimer 1952: 85–120.
[67] Bernheimer 1952: 113–115; Tinland 2003: 43–44.
[68] Webster 1879: 195–199.

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sujet «Samson», jeune géant qui doit lui aussi laisser ses parents puisque trop gourmand. Il est si puissant qu'il tue tous les chevaliers du roi partis à sa poursuite avant de périr suite à une ruse du souverain[69]. Plus connu, le conte *Juan el Oso* a été adapté plus de 55 fois en Espagne. Alors qu'un homme et une femme partent chasser dans la forêt, cette dernière est enlevée par un ours et maintenue captive dans sa caverne. De leur union, naît un garçon, mi-homme, mi-ours, le corps entièrement recouvert de poils. Plus âgé, l'enfant réussit à s'enfuir avec sa mère. Dans certaines versions, il tue même son père. Ils s'installent tous deux dans un village. Doté d'une force colossale, hirsute, il est le sujet de moqueries de la part de ses camardes de classe qu'il tue d'une simple chiquenaude. Face à ces événements, il doit s'enfuir encore une fois et vit alors des aventures extraordinaires tout en défiant de grands dangers. A la fin, il sauve une princesse qu'il épouse[70]. Lorsqu'il quitte le village. il se dote d'une massue qui pèse au minimum 85 kilos ce qui démontre qu'il est doté d'une force surhumaine et qu'il peut affronter tous les dangers. Ce héros traversera l'Atlantique et deviendra *Juan Oso* au Pérou avec au moins 23 variantes andines[71].

Une autre figure de la sauvagerie, féminine cette fois-ci, est incarnée par la *serrana*, une «femme-sauvage» tirée du roman *Libro de buen amor* (XIVe siècle) de Juan Ruiz, archiprêtre de la ville d'Hita. C'est une bergère chevaline et noueuse, d'aspect mal dégrossi. Sa tête est disproportionnée, ses cheveux courts et noirs, ses mains larges et velues, une barbe touffue enveloppe son visage. Ses oreilles sont aussi immenses que celles d'un âne[72]. Selon Persephone Braham, cette *serrana* combine des éléments tirés de la légende des Amazones et de la tradition des hommes sauvages[73]. Enfin, le *caballero salvaje* tient une place qui n'est pas négligeable dans la «novela sentimental» en vogue en Espagne à la fin du XVe siècle. Il fait partie des personnages de l'un des plus célèbres ouvrages de ce genre, la *Cárcel de Amor* de Diego de San Pedro publiée en 1492. Le sauvage – «épouvantablement dévêtu, tout couvert de poils en manière de sauvage»[74] (figure 18) – est associé au désir brut et il est élevé au rang de symbole d'une sexualité, d'un désir inassouvi qui tourmente le chevalier Leriano, héros de ce roman[75].

Les premiers marins à poser le pied sur les côtes américaines étaient également fortement influencés par toute une littérature de voyage où le merveilleux le disputait à l'exotique dans les descriptions des habitants de lointaines contrées[76]. L'influence d'Odoric, de Guillaume de Boldensele, du moine arménien Hatoume, de Jean de Pian del Carpini est clairement visible. L'un des

[69] Espinosa 1923: 80–81 (n° 35).

[70] Espinosa 1947: 498.

[71] Dudley, Novak 1972: 40–41; Fourtané 1993: 39–50; Lugo Silva, Martínez, González 2009: 141–150.

[72] Ruiz 1995: 216–217 (str. 1011–1021).

[73] Braham 2013: 18.

[74] San Pedro 1904: 6.

[75] Bartra 1990: 93 et suiv.

[76] Braham 2013: 19–22.

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plus célèbres récits est bien entendu celui rédigé par Marco Polo au retour de son périple vers la Chine lointaine et connu sous le nom de *Devisement du monde* ou *Livre des Merveilles* (début du XIV[e] siècle) ou bien le *Livre des Merveilles du monde*, ouvrage rédigé par Jean de Mandeville au XIV[e] siècle et connu de Christophe Colomb[77]. Un des auteurs favoris de Colomb, Pierre d'Ailly, défend l'existence des cynocéphales dans *Imago mundi*. S'il existe des doutes sérieux sur la véracité des récits de Marco Polo, l'iconographie représentant des hommes sauvages et velus y est omniprésente. Mandeville fait classiquement référence à des hommes à tête de chien. Certains ont un œil au milieu du front; d'autres, sans tête, les yeux sur les épaules; d'autres, encore, n'ont pas de nez, ni de bouche. Il dépeint des hommes avec des cornes et des sabots qui habitent dans le royaume du Prêtre Jean. Il est difficile d'évaluer la part de l'observation directe, des rumeurs, des inventions de l'auteur, et de l'influence des auteurs classiques comme Hérodote et Pline.

Fig. 18 – *Cabello salvaje*. Diego de San Pedro 1493: *Obra intitulada Lo carcer d'amor composta y hordenada per Diego de Sant Pedro*. Traduit du castillan au valencien par Bernadí Vallmanya, Barcelona: Lambert Mata Vilanova i Geltrú Johan Oliva: 4.

[77] Braga 2004: 358–366; Classen 2012: 28–33.

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La littérature chevaleresque espagnole n'est pas en reste avec les exploits d'Amadis et d'Esplandian face à des créatures extraordinaires. Ces deux romans, *Amadis de Gaule* (1508) et *Les exploits d'Esplandian* (1510) étaient très populaires auprès des *conquistadores*[78]. L'enthousiasme de la Renaissance pour les auteurs classiques redécouverts et traduits, en particulier Pline, renforce encore cette idée de créatures sans tête, recouvertes d'écailles ou dotées d'un seul pied et qui s'en servent pour se protéger du soleil[79].

Toutes ces thématiques à propos des hommes sauvages et des races monstrueuses traversèrent l'Atlantique et influencèrent les premiers Européens en contact avec les Amérindiens. Alden T. Vaughan offre une réflexion intéressante sur cette translation de l'homme sauvage vers l'Amérique: «But the wild-man image of Indians spread rapidly throught Europe, partly beacause the explorers so often arrived with wild-man expectations and partly because European listeners' and readers' preconceived notions of the wild man encouraged them to add wild-man characteristics to their mental picture of the Indian as soon as a few truly similar characteristics – nakedness, most obviously – were put before them»[80].

Le 12 octobre 1492, Christophe Colomb décrit des Indiens qui, bien qu'ils aillent nus, ne portent pas de barbe et sont imberbes. Ils louent même leur beauté, leurs mouvements gracieux et les belles proportions de leurs corps[81]. Leurs armes sont rudimentaires, ils n'ont pas de religion et pourront être facilement convertis selon l'Amiral. La nature est luxuriante et les arbres aussi verts qu'en Andalousie en avril et mai. Le 17 octobre, il conclut ses premières impressions par ces mots: «Vos Altesses peuvent croire que ce pays est le plus fertile, le plus tempéré, le plus uni et le meilleur qu'il y ait au monde»[82]. Le récit colombien aura un grand impact sur les chroniqueurs postérieurs tel Pierre Martyr d'Anghiera qui raconte les débuts de l'aventure espagnole en Amérique de 1492 à 1515 dans *Decades du Nouveau Monde*. Le sentiment dominant est celui d'un paradis sur terre. C'est l'Age d'or (ré)incarné dans les Amériques.

Pourtant, il faut bien garder à l'esprit qu'hybrides et monstres de toutes sortes hantaient les esprits. La tradition les rejetait aux confins du monde connu. Les terres américaines situées aux limites de ce monde bénéficièrent de cet héritage légendaire, fascinant et terrifiant. Colomb mentionne rapidement la présence

[78] Gomez 1992: 111–122.

[79] Pour un catalogue des êtres monstrueux les plus fréquemment cités par les auteurs classiques et médiévaux, cf. Friedman 2000: 9–21.

[80] «Mais l'image d'Indiens semblables à des hommes sauvages se diffusa rapidement à travers l'Europe, en partie parce que les explorateurs débarquèrent bien souvent avec l'idée de rencontrer des hommes sauvages puisque les notions préconçues des auteurs et des lecteurs sur la sauvagerie encouragèrent les conquérants à ajouter ces caractéristiques à leurs représentations mentales des Indiens aussitôt que quelques spécifiques similaires – la nudité, pour la plus manifeste – étaient constatées chez eux» (Vaughan 1992: 38).

[81] Colomb 1828: 42–43.

[82] Colomb 1828: 68.

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d'êtres étranges qui ressembleraient aux créatures signalées par les auteurs antiques comme les cannibales dont nous reparlerons plus avant. Enfin, réminiscence de la légende des Amazones qui aura un grand succès en Amérique, l'île Matinino ne serait peuplée que de femmes[83]. Pierre Martyr d'Anghiera, qui interrogea Colomb et son équipage en 1493, confirme ces dires et donne un nouvel essor à ses mythes dorénavant bien établis dans le Nouveau Monde. En 1498, une nouvelle édition parisienne de *Tractatus de Sphaera Mundi*, rédigée au XIIIe siècle par Joannes de Sacrobosco (John of Hollywood) et enrichie des commentaires du mathématicien et astrologue Pedro Cirvelo de Daroca sur les dernières découvertes décrit les habitants du Nouveau Monde comme des êtres à la couleur de peau bleue et à la tête carrée:

«En l'année 1491 du Seigneur Christ, l'illustrissime roi d'Espagne Fernand envoya vers l'occident équatorial quelques marins de grande expérience, à la recherche d'îles; de retour après près de quatre mois, ces marins dirent avoir découvert de nombreuses îles sous l'équateur ou à sa proximité; en témoignage de ces choses, ils ramenèrent avec eux plusieurs espèces d'oiseaux d'une grande exquisité, plusieurs épices aux arômes très précieux, de l'or, et des hommes de ces régions. Ces hommes ne sont pas de grande stature, mais néanmoins très vigoureux; ils ont le rire fréquent et un bon naturel; ils croient et acquiescent à tout facilement; plutôt ingénieux, ils sont de couleur bleue, et ont la tête quadrangulaire. Ils apparurent merveilleux aux Espagnols»[84].

Dans les instructions que le gouverneur de Cuba, Diego Vélazquez remit à Hernan Cortès le 23 octobre 1518, la «disposition 26» ordonne que par le truchement des interprètes il puisse connaître s'il existe des hommes dont il a entendu parler, certains avec des grandes oreilles et d'autres avec des dents comme les chiens[85]. Ces supposés cynocéphales sont également représentés chez les illustrateurs du début du XVIe siècle. En 1525, Lorenz Fries propose des images suggestives de cette race monstrueuse dans *Uslegung der Mercarthen oder Cartha marina*. L'ouvrage est une compilation de récits de voyages entrepris dans des contrées peu connues dont les Amériques. Il est tout à fait intéressant de constater qu'il associe ces hommes à tête de chien avec les cannibales. Dans une boucherie en plein air, ces monstres débitent des hommes en morceaux (figure 19). A gauche, une femme montée sur un lama ou un guanaco apporte une victime alors qu'à droite une autre femme se délecte de chair fraîche. Lorenz Fries décrit les cannibales de cette manière:

«Les cannibales sont des gens féroces et détestables, avec une tête de chien, qui donnent des frissons quand on les aperçoit. Ils habitent dans une île que

[83] Colomb 1828: 289–290, 309.

[84] Joannes de Sacrobosco, Cirvelo 1498: f° 58r–58v. Cf. Masse 2009: 310–311.

[85] «Os podáis informar de otras islas y tierras y de la manera y nulidad de la gente della; e porque diz que hay gentes de orejas grandes y anchas y otras que tienen las caras como perros, y ansí mismo dónde y a que parte están las amazonas, que dicen estos indios que con vos lleváis, que están cerca de allí» (Martínez 1990: 56).

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découvrit Christophe Colomb voici quelques années [...]. Les cannibales vont nus, à l'exception de plumes multicolores de perroquets dont ils se parent [...]. Ce peuple n'aime rien d'autre que la chair humaine, aussi vont-ils dans les îles avoisinantes pour capture des prisonniers»[86].

Fig. 19 – Bois gravé de cannibales à tête de chien, Lorenz Fries 1525: *Uslegung der Mercarthen oder Cartha marina.* Strasbourg: Johannes Grüninger: XVI.

Lorenz Fries n'est pas le seul en ce début de XVIe siècle à (re)localiser les cynocéphales dans le Nouveau Monde. Dans un ouvrage allemand qui décrit toutes les nations de la Terre, les hommes à tête de chien, assimilés aux cannibales, sont localisés dans les Amériques[87] (figure 20). Un cynocéphale avec des sabots de cheval est dessiné au f° 2v. Le texte qui accompagne le dessin reprend une description de Pline dans *Histoire naturelle* qui mentionne une telle race et l'auteur situe à présent ces cynocéphales dans la région de Santa Cruz. Ces monstres, poursuit le texte, se nourrissent de chair humaine comme les habitants du Brésil[88].

[86] Cité par Colin 1989: 19.

[87] Intitulé *Aggivnti alla quarta parte dell' Indie del Sig. Giovanni Botero*, il n'est connu qu'à travers des copies italiennes du début du XVIIe siècle. L'original, probablement édité un siècle plus tôt, a disparu.

[88] Botero 1618: f°3r.

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Fig. 20 – Cynocéphale avec des sabots de cheval. *Aggivnti alla quarta parte dell' Indie del Sig. Giovanni Botero benese*. Venetia: Appresso Alessandro Vecchi, 1618: f° 2v.

En effet, le vrai homme sauvage, celui qui se rapproche le mieux du mythe à l'œuvre en Europe est bien le cannibale, présent dès les premières pages du journal de bord de l'Amiral. Les paisibles Arawaks, qui subissent de terribles attaques de la part d'un peuple voisin, le confirment dans cette idée. Enlevés, les Arawaks sont réduits en esclavage ou pire, dévorés. Dénommés *Caniba* ou *Canima*, ces anthropophages inspirent crainte et terreur et ce sont eux que les Indiens décrivent avec une tête de chien[89]. Dès le 4 novembre, soit trois semaines après l'abordage des terres américaines, Colomb entend parler «d'hommes avec un seul œil, et d'autres avec un museau de chien» et «qu'ils mangeaient les hommes, et qu'aussitôt qu'ils en prenaient un, ils lui tranchaient la tête, buvaient son sang, et lui coupaient les parties génitales»[90]. De même, il est informé que près de Rio del Oro (actuellement Haïti), «les anthropophages n'avaient qu'un œil et une figure de chien»[91]. Le mythe médiéval des races merveilleuses est là très prégnant. Le 23 novembre, l'Amiral récidive. Le cannibale est encore une fois associé aux hommes pourvus d'un seul œil[92]. La nature dépravée de ces anthropophages fascine les Européens[93]. Ce sont clairement des hommes sauvages et ces descriptions donnent une nouvelle vigueur à ce mythe. Selon Alden T. Vaughan, «Such notions of Indians monstrosity in character and habits rather than in form were spurred by frequent and exaggerated account of New World cannibalism. To Europeans, cannibalism was ipso facto monstrous; if Indians were cannibals, Indians were monsters. This logic, combined with the suspicion that Indians were too cruel to be human (while turning a blind eye

[89] Colomb 1828: 141, 180, 198, 240, 279.
[90] Colomb 1828: 101.
[91] Colomb 1828: 141.
[92] Colomb 1828: 132.
[93] Palencia-Roth 1985: 1–27; Hulme 1995: 365–369.

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to their own form of cruelty), encouraged Europeans to resort almost instinctively to the monster paradigm during peak of animosity against American natives »[94].

L'imagerie des sauvages cannibales sous l'apparence de chiens sera de courte durée. Très rapidement, c'est la représentation du cannibale brésilien qui va s'imposer. Dans la *Lettera* de Vespucci (1502), les beaux sauvages deviennent le symbole de la cruauté et de la bestialité. Une gravure sur bois de 1505 ou 1506 imprimée à Augsbourg et probablement de l'artiste Johann Froschauer illustre ce passage de Vespucci en montrant une scène familiale. Dans le lointain, deux navires approchent de la côte. Les quartiers humains boucanent tranquillement alors que les Tupis portent des plumes et des pierres incrustées sur la poitrine. Là encore, leur sauvagerie est accentuée, symbolisée par une représentation mentale commune à tous: la barbe, pareille à celle des sauvages d'Europe (figure 21).

Dans un registre identique, la famille cannibale gravée par Jan van Doesborch (1515–1520) semble s'inspirer assez largement de Johann Froschauer, surtout la femme qui allaite les deux enfants. La scène de cannibalisme, stade suprême de la barbarie, est également visible en cosmographie comme sur cette carte hollandaise du XVI[e] siècle où l'on peut apercevoir un sauvage nu qui découpe de la chair humaine avant de la faire cuire (figure 22).

Fig. 21 – Repas cannibale. Première représentation connue des cannibales. Gravure sur bois de 1505 (?) par Johann Froschauer (Augsbourg) illustrant le *Mundus Novus* d'Amerigo Vespucci.

[94] Vaughan 1992: 44.

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Fig. 22 – Vignette «Canibali» de Sebastian Münster, *Typus cosmographicus universalis* dans Simon Grynaeus, *Novus Orbis Regionum ac Insularum Veteribus Incognitarum*, Bâle, 1537.

Là aussi, les cannibales feront long feu. Progressivement, ils ne seront plus cantonnés que chez les Tupis brésiliens et leurs rituels anthropophagiques qui impressionneront fortement les différents observateurs qui les côtoieront. C'est l'image «classique» de l'homme sauvage, fortement influencé par la tradition européenne, qui l'emportera.

Les premiers découvreurs de ce Nouveau Monde, tel Amerigo Vespucci, vont populariser l'image d'hommes restés soumis aux seules lois de la nature et vierge de la corruption du luxe, de la propriété privée. Ils n'ont pas de vêtements, il n'y a chez eux aucun patrimoine, tous les biens sont en commun. Ils vivent sans lois, ni rois, et chacun est son propre maître. Ils n'ont pas de religion, ni de temples. Ils vivent selon la nature conclut Amerigo Vespucci. Malgré de nombreuses et assez précises descriptions ethnologiques, l'image du «sauvage» américain reste en Europe vague et erronée au XVI^{e} siècle. L'Amérindien était souvent considéré comme un intermédiaire entre l'homme et la bête, vivant dans des cavernes et couvert de poils (figure 23).

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Fig. 23 – Gravure d'un homme sauvage. François Deserps 1567: *Recueil de la diversité des habits qui sont de présent usage tant es pays d'Europe, Asie, Afrique et isles sauvages...* Paris: R. Breton: 51.

La tradition de l'homme des bois était ancienne en Europe, comme nous avons pu l'analyser. Cela flatte un sentiment de supériorité chez l'homme civilisé et urbain. Aussi faut-il sans doute voir une manifestation européocentriste dans cette difficulté à admettre que les habitants considérés comme non civilisés du Nouveau Monde pouvaient être semblables aux Européens. L'iconographie des récits de voyage n'aurait été qu'une illustration conventionnelle dont le rôle documentaire resterait secondaire. C'est faux car on possède tout de même des témoignages iconographiques de première main comme ceux de Hans Staden, prisonnier des Tupinambas du Brésil, et qui nous en fit une description réaliste. De toute manière, même fantaisistes, ces images à l'origine de stéréotypes et d'une image incertaine des populations indiennes sont plus révélatrices de la mentalité de l'observateur que de l'objet observé.

N'oublions pas que l'image est complémentaire du texte. Avec la Renaissance, la révolution culturelle amorcée accorde aux nouveautés une attention plus exigeante et plus objective aussi bien de la part des voyageurs que des lecteurs. Les textes sont accompagnés de gravures sur bois, puis sur cuivre, qui, en dépit de leur rareté, devait tout de même fixer pour longtemps un certain nombre de représentations. Les premières images reflétèrent les préoccupations qui agitaient

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le monde de la Renaissance en pleine ébullition[95]. Nous sommes face à la réflexion humaniste et au regard du colonisateur où l'humanité nouvellement découverte proposait une image à la fois idyllique et barbare, d'un côté celle du bon sauvage épicurien et de l'autre celle du barbare mangeur d'hommes. D'autre part, nous appréhendons avec les découvertes le rêve exotique, celui des survivances des mythes de l'Antiquité et des créatures fantastiques qui ont trouvé un terrain favorable au Nouveau Monde, même si leur vie fut de courte durée. Enfin, nous entrons de plein pied dans la controverse politique et religieuse avec le droit ou non de dominer ces peuples. Les Indiens ont été inventés par les dessinateurs européens plus soucieux d'exotisme que d'authenticité et aussi influencés par leurs représentations mentales comme on peut le voir dans les premières illustrations des lettres de Christophe Colomb ou d'Amerigo Vespucci.

Comment furent élaborées les premières images de l'homme américain au retour de l'Amiral? Il n'embarqua pas de dessinateur à bord de ses navires et le graveur de la première édition illustrée des récits coloniens ne disposait pas de descriptions détaillées. Il a dû se contenter de celle que proposait sommairement Colomb dans ses lettres comme dans cette page de titre de la traduction italienne de la lettre de Colomb. William C. Sturtevant a bien mis en lumière que les descriptions mises à la disposition des artistes étaient totalement nouvelles et inconnues et qu'elles déterminèrent le degré d'exactitude des images reproduites[96]. Ils puisèrent leurs modèles dans la tradition picturale des races étranges et monstrueuses et sélectionnèrent celles qui se rapprochaient le plus des peuples décrits dans les récits. Selon Susi Colin, «If the eye-witnesses of the New World themselves were unable to report their experiences in an objective way, what could illustrators lacking direct visual information, who drew from these first hand accounts replete with preconceptions and misinterpretations do, but make associations with images anchored in their own tradition, images that the discoverers themselves seemed to call for»[97]. Cette idée est renforcée par le fait que la majorité des illustrateurs, sinon tous, croyaient en l'existence des géants, pygmées et autres cynocéphales. Après tout, ils étaient cités par les auteurs classiques et les Pères de l'Eglise elle-même, autorités suprêmes s'il en était. Pourtant, ils laissèrent majoritairement de côté les images de créatures extraordinaires pour se focaliser sur une figure familière extraordinairement populaire en cette fin du Moyen Age: l'homme sauvage.

Il existe au moins trois variantes de cette xylographie publiée la même année (1493) (figure 24). Cette gravure sur bois sera utilisée pour illustrer la lettre de Colomb ou la *Lettera* de Vespucci (figure 25). Les sauvages ont une attitude fuyante et portent tous sans exception une longue barbe qui en font de lointains

[95] Duviols 2006: 19–67.

[96] Sturtevant 1976: 417. Velazco y Trianosky émet l'idée que ces images furent également dessinées «à la hâte», à cause de la «pression commerciale» pour que l'édition de la lettre de Colomb se fasse le plus rapidement possible (Velazco y Trianosky 2012: 46–47).

[97] Colin 1989: 6.

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cousins des hommes des bois européens. Cependant, les représentations sont en contradiction flagrante avec les textes qui, eux, insistent sur l'absence totale de poil sur le corps des Indiens. L'illustration de l'édition de 1505 de *De Novo Mundo* de Vespucci insiste sur leur barbe et pilosité en totale opposition avec le texte qui les présente totalement imberbes[98]. Notons que la contradiction entre le texte et l'image n'est sans doute qu'apparente aux yeux de l'illustrateur. L'hirsutisme n'est pas nécessairement un attribut décisif pour qualifier l'homme sauvage. Une gravure d'Israël von Meckenem exécutée entre 1500 et 1503 représente 8 hommes sauvages qui se battent dans un décor floral. Aucun d'eux n'a les cheveux hirsutes. Par contre, d'eux d'entre eux se battent avec des massues, un des objets qui caractérisent le mieux ce personnage (figure 26). Les dessins sont chargés d'intentions idéologiques, repère pour la mémoire collective. Nous sommes face à la représentation mentale et idéologique de l'Europe même s'il apparaît un souci d'exactitude avec les habitations des insulaires, les palmiers, bien qu'ils soient représentés sommairement.

Fig. 24 – Bois gravé de la page de titre de la seconde édition italienne de la première lettre de Colomb (*La lettera dell'isole che ha trovate novamente il re dispagna*) éditée à Florence en octobre 1493 par Laurentius de Morganius et Johann Petri et traduite par Guiliano Dati.

[98] Vespucci 1894: 6.

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Fig. 25 – Bois gravé illustrant la lettre de Colomb à Luis de Santangel.
De insulis inventis... Rome: 1493.

Fig. 26 – *Flore Pulchro* (décor floral avec 8 hommes sauvages). Gravure d'Israël von Meckenem, Allemagne (v. 1500–1503).

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Dans les premières représentations, certaines particularités physiques et ornementales «locales» apparaissent comme la grande taille et la puissance musculaire des Indiens, les plumes, les pierres incrustées mêlés à des attributs du sauvage européen tels que la barbe, la massue, l'arc. Pourtant, il semble évident que le graveur allemand a lu attentivement le texte pour l'illustrer. Il n'a pu s'empêcher d'ajouter des éléments exotiques comme la grotte qui explique que l'on est face à des sauvages selon les critères européens. Le lecteur doit pouvoir se repérer selon ses propres normes idéologiques (figure 27).

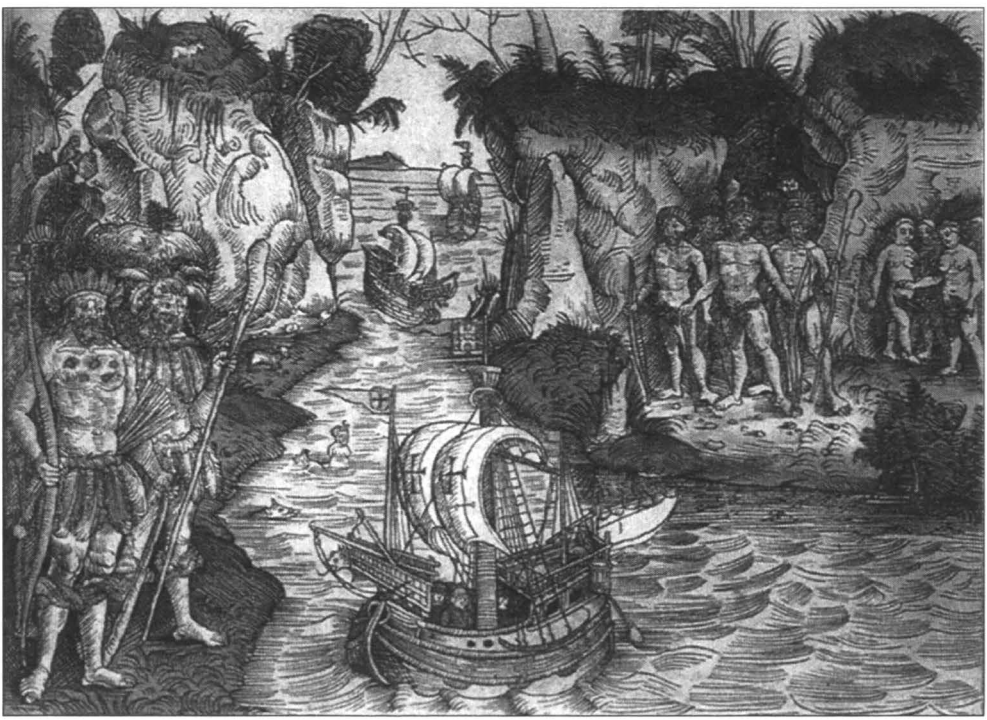

Fig. 27 – Bois gravé de 1505 (?) par Johann Froschauer (Augsbourg) illustrant le *Mundus Novus* d'Amerigo Vespucci.

Voici les «sauvages» illustrant la *Lettera* de Vespucci (gravure de 1505) tirée de l'édition de Rostock de *Mundus Novus* imprimée par Hermann Barkhusen. C'est le premier opuscule qui soit daté (figure 28). Sur la couverture, un couple, clairement identifiable comme sauvage symbole les habitants du Nouveau Monde. À la culture, le graveur oppose la nature. La femme et l'homme sont nus et à la longue chevelure de l'Indienne s'oppose la barbe de l'Indien dans le droit fil des images d'hommes sauvages médiévaux. L'homme sauvage est intermédiaire entre l'humanité (nue) et l'animalité (couverte de poils). On a substitué l'arc au gourdin de manière à mieux se rapprocher à la réalité. Ces sauvages n'ont pas les traits

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indiens, en particulier la barbe. Le décor est également sauvage: sol caillouteux du désert, arbres rachitiques: nous sommes face à un paysage non cultivé, aussi frustre que ses habitants. Il attend d'être pris en charge par l'agriculture. La dimension érotique de la scène est soulignée par la poitrine découverte de la femme à peine cachée par sa main, un geste commun dans les représentations érotiques de l'époque. L'arc et les flèches que l'homme tient sont une allusion au dieu de l'amour Cupidon, un trait commun dans l'imagerie «sauvage»[99]. Cela indique peut-être que ce bois gravé avait déjà été utilisé dans un autre contexte et que l'artiste s'en est inspiré pour illustrer Vespucci en modifiant la physionomie des personnages.

Un autre bois gravé montre une scène similaire dans l'édition hollandaise de *Mundus Novus* publiée par Jan van Doesborch à Anvers entre 1506 et 1510. Le dessin de la page de titre, repris au f°6v., est plus frustre et de moins bonne facture. C'est un diagramme triangulaire qui décrit la position géographique des habitants du Nouveau Monde par rapport aux Européens, suivant le texte de Vespucci. Les habitants de l'Ancien Monde, reconnaissables à leurs vêtements, occupent le haut de l'image, alors que les Indiens situés sur la gauche dans un rectangle vertical sont représentés comme un couple de sauvages (figure 29).

Fig. 28 – Couple de sauvages. Frontispice du *Mundus Novus* d'Amerigo Vespucci par Hermann Barkhusen, Rostock, 1505.

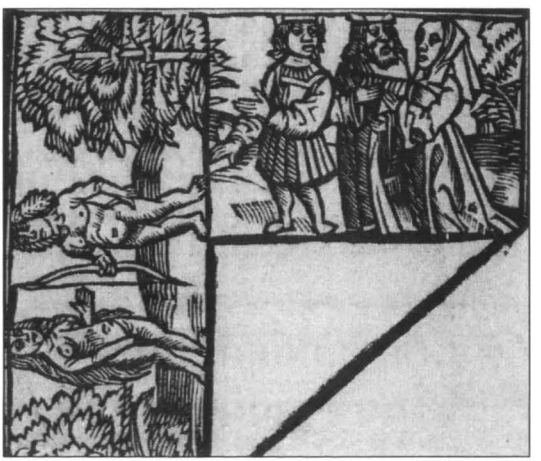

Fig. 29 – Couples d'Européens et de sauvages Indiens. Illustration du *Mundus Novus* d'Amerigo Vespucci (édition en hollandais). Jan van Doesborch, *Van der nieuwer werelt*, Anvers, 1507 (?).

Deux autres illustrations montrent que van Doesborch s'est servi de l'imaginaire lié aux hommes sauvages pour dépeindre les Indiens (figure 30, 31). Le premier, au f°3r., montre deux couples de sauvages. Ceux-ci adoptent la même pose que dans le diagramme triangulaire déjà évoqué. Seules différences visibles: l'homme de

[99] Husband, Gilmore-House 1980: 142.

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droite a sa main gauche appuyée sur la hanche et celui de gauche tient une massue. Il est fort probable que le modèle pour ces deux illustrations soit identique. L'allusion sexuelle est assez claire dans ce dessin. Le texte en regard aborde le côté libidineux des Indiens et la propension des hommes à entretenir des relations sexuelles avec toutes les femmes, qu'elles soient de leur famille ou non. Le second bois gravé laisse apparaître deux groupes d'hommes sauvages entièrement nus, dans une posture agressive et dont les arcs sont bandés. Ils semblent prêts à en découdre. Dans le texte qu'illustre ce dessin, Vespucci explique les techniques de combats des autochtones. Il met en évidence leur manque d'organisation et l'absence de chefs. Leurs affrontements ne sont que des mêlées confuses et désordonnées, sans règle ni ordre[100].

Fig. 30 – 2 Couple de sauvages Indiens. Illustration du *Mundus Novus* d'Amerigo Vespucci (édition en hollandais). Jan van Doesborch, *Van der nieuwer werelt*, Anvers, 1507 (?).

Fig. 31 – Combat entre des hommes sauvages Indiens. Illustration du *Mundus Novus* d'Amerigo Vespucci (édition en hollandais). Jan van Doesborch, *Van der nieuwer werelt*, Anvers, 1507 (?).

La découverte du Nouveau Monde suscita également des exhibitions en Europe de sauvages qui vont enrichir le mythe populaire. Malgré le fait que les images d'Indiens barbues, velus aient pratiquement disparu au milieu du XVIe siècle, il est surprenant de voir que lors de «fêtes indiennes», ils soient encore représentés en homme sauvage médiéval. Les stéréotypes sont bien souvent fixés pour longtemps. Aussi, la reconnaissance immédiate par les contemporains des normes de la sauvagerie ne pouvait être efficiente que dans un cadre idéologique en partie «médiéval». Dans une série de gravures sur bois dédiées à l'empereur Maximilien I^{er} sur les habitants de Calicut (milieu du XVI^{e} siècle), l'avant dernière figure les habitants des Indes Orientales. Celui de droite porte une barbe (figure 32).

[100] Colin 1989: 13–16.

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Fig. 32 – *Les habitants de Calicut*. Gravure de Hans Burgkmair l'Ancien (1526).

CONCLUSION

Deux remarques s'imposent. Contrairement aux illustrations de voyages comme celles de Marco Polo où les images d'êtres fantastiques abondent, l'iconographie des premiers récits de la découverte tend malgré tout vers une certaine objectivité même si les illustrateurs du début du XVIe siècle ne pouvaient pas vérifier les récits des voyageurs. Ils s'en remirent à leur propre imaginaire sur l'homme sauvage. En quelque sorte, l'Amérique est inventée par les Européens qui mêlent mythes et histoire, réalité et imaginaire. Malgré tout, la Renaissance et sa révolution culturelle sont passées par là. Il reste quelques traces de l'homme sauvage (barbe, cheveux longs bouclés...) en tant que signes de reconnaissance d'une humanité qui vit en marge de la civilisation. La question est bien de savoir si ce sont des hommes ou non. Rappelons qu'il fallut attendre 1537 et la bulle pontificale de Paul III, *Sublimis Deus*, pour que l'Église reconnaisse les Indiens en tant qu'hommes à part entière qui ne devaient pas être exterminés ou au mieux traités comme des brutes réduites en esclavage. D'autre part, c'est bien sûr le thème du bon sauvage qui apparaît en filigrane. Ici, il est encore mal dégrossi et oscille entre l'être doux et naturel et le cannibale sanguinaire mais ce dernier sera vite anéanti autant physiquement que dans les représentations iconographiques. L'homme sauvage disparaît de la littérature et de l'iconographie à la fin du XVIe siècle. En dépit de tentatives d'explications ethnologiques et de compréhension de

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ces peuples amérindiens, les préjugés et les projections mentales des Européens prirent le pas sur l'observation et l'analyse. Le sauvage a été jugé bon lorsque son personnage permettait une distanciation originale et exotique; il a été jugé mauvais lorsque les Européens ont voulu justifier leur œuvre civilisatrice. Est-ce si différent aujourd'hui[101]?

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[101] De tout temps, l'adversaire est «animalisé» pour l'infériorisier et lui attribuer des caractéristiques liées à la sauvagerie, ce qui peut justifier son asservissement ou sa destruction. Les comparaisons entre les hommes ou les nations avec les animaux sont légions. On les déshumanise volontairement (cf. Burke 2004: 25–39).

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SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF RELIGIOSITY IN THE TWO SĂPÂNȚA CEMETERIES

IOAN POP-CURȘEU

ABSTRACT

This paper analyses the signification of popular religiosity in the two well known cemeteries from Săpânța (Maramureș, Romania). The cemeteries, fruit of the artistic vision of Ioan Stan Pătraș (1908–1977), contain many ranks of richly decorated blue crosses showing, in verses and images, episodes of the villagers' lives. First, through iconographical analysis, I criticise the idea spread by communist propaganda that Pătraș leaves behind the tradition of religious art in favour of a laic and profane approach to death and the sacred. Then, I propose an interpretation of religious characters painted on the crosses of Pătraș and of his disciples: Christ, the Virgin, angels, death, white doves, Saint Elias... Before the conclusions, I try to understand why the universe of religious practices is seen in the rural community of Săpânța (but also in other social groups) as a mainly feminine one.

Keywords: Săpânța, Maramureș, Merry Cemetery, social representations, religious representations, iconography, folk culture, popular culture.

My recent research on the Săpânța Merry Cemetery (pursued mainly for the grant *A Cognitive Architecture for Social Groups. Further Development and Validation*[1]), has also focused on a deeper investigation of social representations. Apart from the already published results[2], I have pursued studies on the collective views of the two Săpânța cemeteries, on how the official discourse relates to the new burial traditions or on how moral traditions are shared via (tombstone) epitaphs.

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[2] Curșeu & Pop-Curșeu 2011; Pop-Curșeu 2013.

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A significant part of my new study of social representations has been the attempt to understand religious practice as experienced and shared by the local community of Săpânţa. Thus, the images and the epitaphs in the two Săpânţa cemeteries have been an invaluable source of information on how the locals pray, on the saints whom they put their faith in, on their view of life-after-death, and on the social value assigned to faith in God. I believe social representations of religion and religious practices are important because, in a funereal context, their mechanisms allow a glimpse of a number of other cognitions and social standards. I need to emphasise I have studied the social representations of religion in relation to a concept of popular religiosity which is fairly frequent in ethnology and cultural anthropology[3]. Therefore, my category of popular religiosity includes all the dogmatically unregulated faiths and practices inherited through both oral and written productions and which are widespread and enjoy a strong social consensus.

A MISUNDERSTANDING: PĂTRAŞ'S PROFANE ART

First of all, I would like to to debunk a belief widely circulated by the propaganda and the press in the communist period[4] and later[5], according to which Ioan Stan Pătraş (1908–1977), the creator of the Săpânţa first wooden crosses, was an exclusively secular artist with a penchant for a desacralizing approach on death. Undoubtedly, communist authorities would equate the birth of the blue cemetery with an amputation of the religious and a substitution of the sacred, religious facet of death by a jocular, ironic, playful one. Although not totally unfounded, this view should be revised. Indeed, Pătraş was a member of the party and he was present in the local committee of the C.A.P. (agricultural production cooperative) for ten years; he was persistently promoted by the communist authorities in festivals such as Cântarea României (Song to Romania) and in other folk art exhibitions, in Romania and abroad (Czechoslovakia, Germany, Switzerland etc.). It is true, the portraits of communist leaders Elena Ceauşescu and Nicolae Ceauşescu still hang on the walls of the Pătraş house museum and they overlook the members of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (represented on three parallel rows). However, it is equally true that the popular artist was a member of the "church committee" and, with other colleagues and with the priest, he had "done good work" for the community[6]. In fact, Ioan Stan Pătraş was a good Christian within the community, which did not prevent him from being a good communist (actually, the cases of such "compromises" should be approached in a thorough historical study).

[3] Benga & Neagota 2002.
[4] Bogdan 1958; Brad 1958; Raţiu 1966; Utan 1968; Pop 1972.
[5] Butnaru 2013.
[6] Mazzoni 1999: 30.

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On the other hand, Pătraș had never intended to turn the Săpânța cemetery into something different from a burial ground, from a place of mourning and remembrance of the dead; he had not had in mind a place of entertainment and fun. The wit of his epitaphs is most of the times unintentional or deeply moralising: "Pe lume cât am trăit/ Eu mai mult am hodinit/ Și de lume am vorbit" [Long as I have lived my life/ I have taken some good rest/ Gossiped about everybody] (epitaph of Anuța Mogoci, dead at 83 years old, in 1973), "Cine be și trăia bine/ Cu plăcere trăie-n lume" [With good drink and good innings/ One can have a pleasant living] "De când Pișta a murit/ Tare bine-am hodinit/ Locurile-n parte-am dat /Și nimica n-am lucrat" [Pișta died one day and since then/ I've been resting really well/ The land plots I've given away / Haven't worked on any day][7]. With the master's disciples, Vasile Stan Colțun (b. 1936), Toader Turda Sepe (b. 1958), Dumitru Pop Tincu (b. 1958), Gheorghe Stan Colțun (b. 1965), humour is more deliberate, even if its moralizing dimension is not lost. After the Revolution in December 1989, the local community and its craftsmen felt the need to preserve and develop the fame the cemetery had earned in the press since the communist period. The cemetery was already labeled as "merry", therefore it needed "amusing" epitaphs, which could uphold the reputation of the village and draw even more sightseers now accommodated in the many boarding houses of the area and "enchanted" with additional forms of popular "tradition". From among many other cases of intentional humour, I would like to pick the famous epitaph of the mother-in-law; in fact, nowadays, there is a direction arrow towards the epitaph, which practically recommends it to the curious tourist ("To the mother-in-law grave"):

Sub această cruce grea	Under this heavy cross
Zace biata soacra mea	My mother-in-law can no longer toss
Tri zile de mai trăia	Three days more if she had lived
Zăceam eu și citea ea	I'd be lying here and she's read
Voi care treceți pă aici	If you happen to walk by
Încercați să no treziți	Do not wake her please try
Că acasă dacă vine	For if she thinks to come back
Iarăi cu gura pă mine	Her nagging won't cut me a slack
Dar așa eu moi purta	I'll take care and behave
Că-napoi nu a înturna.	So she'll remain in her grave.

Regarding iconography, Pătraș had never chased away from his representational practice the religious motifs, not even after the "scientific socialism" meetings he must have attended. In other research papers, I have shown that the

[7] Bilțiu 2008: 65–66.

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chromatic system of Pătraş's crosses and the figurative principles on which the Săpânţa tombs rely go back to the art of the icon painters from Mărgău, whose icons on glass have been exhibited at fairs all across Transylvania and are also present in the artist's house, hanging on the walls. Here, however, we need to expand the analysis, starting from two roadside shrines that guard the two cemeteries. The wayside crosses, dating back to the 1970s, apply complex iconographic systems with high culture origins, but approached in a folk manner.

Near the entrance in the old cemetery there is a large wayside cross, longer and more graceful than a regular cross, nearly twice the size of the latter. It was created by Ion Stan Pătraş in 1974, being signed and dated on the right lateral side. There are four overlapping iconographic ranges broken by inscriptions in edifying verses. On the upper side, there is a Jesus flanked by the two Mary, in a position inspired by the Mărgău icons. Beneath, the inscription mentions Jesus Christ's healing power and that his sacrifice protected us from hell. The verses carved on the cross let emerge an indefinite touch of popular anti-Semitism:

Isus aşa ne-a iubit	Jesus loved us so much
Pentru noi s-a răstignit	That he let himself crucified
Şi ş-a dat viaţa în mâni	And he put his dear life
La jidovii cei păgâni	In the hands of pagan Jews
Noi aşa să ne ferim	We should then behave within
Ca să nu păcătuim	And stay away from sin
Să nu plecăm capun-n jos	So that we won't be ashamed
Când ne-a judeca Hristos	When by Christ we'll be judged and named
Fie Hristos lăudat	Blessed Jesus Christ's name dwell
Pe noi din iad ne-a scăpat.	For he has saved us from hell.

The next iconographic series allows us to see a naïve representation of the world's end with "Christ at the Judgment Time" holding a "whip of fire", while Michael the Archangel and the Devil are weighing souls. The Righteous ones are illustrated as winged angels who rise to the heavens, while the condemned plunge into the yellow flames of hell, crushed by the tail of the infernal serpent. In the Judgment range, Adam and Eve let themselves be tempted by the demon, as shown by the inscription: "Adam şi Eva înşălaţi/ Şi din rai goi au fost daţi" [Adam and Eve were misled/ Out from heaven naked they were led]. Finally, Death is present at the lower part of the cross; its right hand holds a sickle, its left hand a knife. The eschatological meaning of the wayside cross in the old cemetery is obvious (figs. 1–3); it adds to the site a complete sacred account of man's salvation, seen in bold, naïve and easily comprehensible lines.

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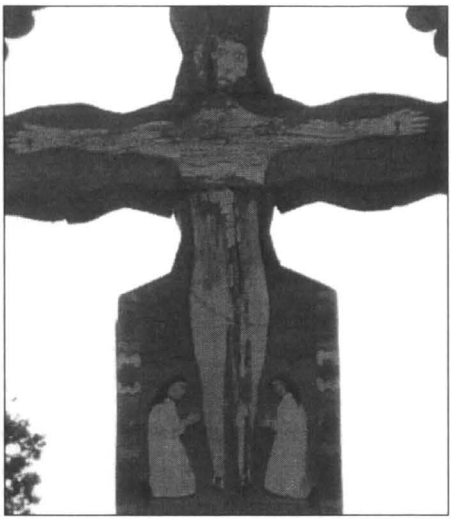

Figs. 1, 2, 3 – Eschatological illustrations on the wayside cross in the Săpânța old cemetery.

Near the entrance to the new cemetery, outside the premises, another wayside cross seems to expand the first one and continues the history of man's salvation. This time, I shall list the scenes bottom-up (figs. 4–5), which will permit a better understanding of the continuity between the two monuments. At the base, there is Death pictured as a black skeleton, holding the same curved knife, this time in the right hand, while the left hand points to the verses: "Eu sunt mai tare ca tine/ Uităte bine creştine/ Că eu sunt urâta moarte/ Pe rând voi duce pe toate" [Stronger than you I am/ Take a good look Christian man/ For I am the foul death/ And I take

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away all breath] (fig. 10). Above it there is the illustration of Jesus's crucifixion and the two Mary, while beyond it one can see the resurrection carefully overseen by two angels. One may notice that the soldiers represented in the Crucifixion and in the Resurrection scenes wear 20th century clothing, which accounts for the updating and the particularisation of the important biblical episodes. Above the Resurrection, there is a Blessed Mary, dressed in white (now in red, after the cross was repainted) and pointing to her heart, in the "Sacro Cuore" position present in Catholic iconography (in fact, often with Jesus too!). Over the Mary ensign there is the scene of "Jesus's ascension to the heavens", and the iconographic series ends with the Eucharistic chalice, which proves that Pătraş's theology was popular, but not simplistic; while naïve, it did not overlook the canonical sources of Christian rite and mythology.

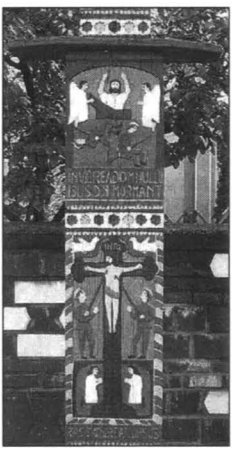

Fig. 4 – The Crucifixion and the Resurrection.

Fig. 5 – Virgin Mary, the Ascension, the chalice.

Pătraş's theology is complemented by other religious scenes or saints in the nodal points of the cemeteries. For example, on the interior side of the new cemetery entrance gate there are representations of seraphs, which act as decorative motifs; there is also an illustration of the "guardian angel" and of the Virgin Mary in a praying pose, followed by the traditional inscription: "Bucură-te cea plină de har, binecuvântată eşti între femei" [Hail, full of grace, blessed art thou amongst women], a clear reference to the Gospel according to the first chapter of Luke's Gospel, but with the incorrect indication of the biblical verse (18 instead of 28). Unfortunately, the scene has been recently repainted, like the wayside cross at the entrance, which means that it is rather difficult to recognise Pătraş's contribution. At any rate, Pătraş also paints Mary mother of Jesus on crosses dating back to 1940 or 1974, in iconographic positions established by the post-byzantine tradition in its popular forms, which shows that he set much value on the iconographic motif. Ioan Stan Pătraş also paints many angels on his crosses, an aspect I'll discuss below.

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Furthermore, the Pătraș house museum retains, apart from the portraits of the communist leaders or of singers, at least four remarkable icons, sculpted and painted by the craftsman himself. The first of them illustrates "The Three Wise Men, the birth of Jesus and 3 shepherds", blending together the religious texts and the supernatural of the folk tradition. The pervading feeling seems to spring from Christmas carols and from folk miracle plays (fig. 6). The second icon focuses on "The Last Supper", depicted in a stimulating naïve style, the third one illustrates Jesus, while the fourth represents the Holy Trinity (fig. 7).

Fig. 6 – Birth of Jesus, the Wise Men and Shepherds worship him.

Fig. 7 – The Holy Trinity.

The illustration of the Holy Spirit in the Holy Trinity icon also explains the symbol of the white dove that appears on approximately 19.27% of the 83 crosses that can be assigned to Pătraș, which are still preserved *in situ* in the two Săpânța

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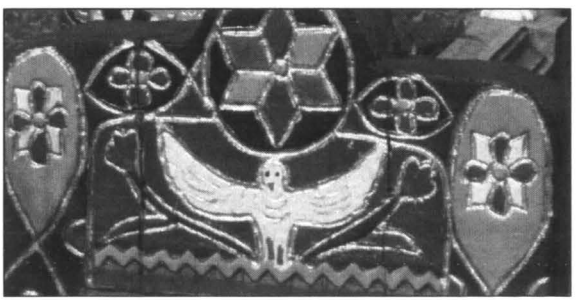
cemeteries. The white dove is an international iconographic manifestation of the Holy Spirit rather than of the famous "dove of peace" used excessively by the communist propaganda, even if, most of the times, it appears as two identical birds, facing each other, rather than in the single form the canonical representation would require. A simple comparison creates a possibility to clarify the symbolism of the white bird. On a cross made for Pop George, dead in 1968, the dove is depicted alone, descending in a frontal view, like in the Holy Trinity icons and frescoes one may see in many Orthodox churches (fig. 8). From this point to the doubling of the symbolic representation, for symmetry, the distance was small and Stan Pătraş went all the length of it, for example in the cross for the 6-year old Pop Maria of Toader Crăţu (fig. 9).



Figs. 8, 9 – The Holy Spirit as a dove.
Two doves facing each other, a recurrent motif at Săpânţa.

Pătraş's iconography of Death is also worth mentioning; it is inspired directly from popular traditions or from the illustrations of death in the churches across Maramureş, Lăpuş (Poienile Izei, Rogoz, Libotin), and Ţara Codrului (Cehei, Ulciug, Corund, Orţâţa), where it is depicted with the allegorical representations of the "plague" and of "sloth". Apart from the images at the base of the two wayside crosses, death is also present on Dumitru Holdiş's tomb, "deceased by way of forced death" in 1958, after a life of alcohol addiction. The illustration shows the character with a bottle in his hand, while he is threatened by death, seen as a black, hideous skeleton (fig. 10). Death is also present as an allegorical character in the epitaphs written by Pătraş, sometimes inspired by *dirges* and *laments*, or by other funereal texts, frequent in the Romanian traditional culture[8]. In some epitaphs,

[8] Mazzoni 1999: 21–23.

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the deceased talks to death, as if the latter were a real character, like the one created by Pătraș: "Tu moarte fără dreptate,/ Ce n-ai mers în sus pă sate/ Unde-s babe supărate,/ La mine de ce ai vinit/ Am doi copii de grijit." [Death you are unfair,/ Couldn't you go in the village up there/ Full of crones who still breathe this air,/ Why did you come to me/ I have two children can't you see.][9], "Tu moarte fără dreptate,/ Ce n-ai mers în sus pă sate/ Unde-s babe supărate,/ În tăt ciasu îș rogă moarte,/ La mine de ce ai venit/ Am avut mai de trăit,/ În loc de căsătorie/ Iute m-ai băgat sub glie" [Death you are unfair,/ Couldn't you go in the village up there/ Full of crones who still breathe this air/ who are waiting for you with despair,/ Why did you come to me/ I'd still have years to live, can't you see/ Instead of getting married/ I got quickly buried][10]. The direct speech and interpellation model is the one seen in funereal texts performed in ceremonial contexts[11].

Fig. 10 – Death
(lower part of the new cemetery wayside cross).

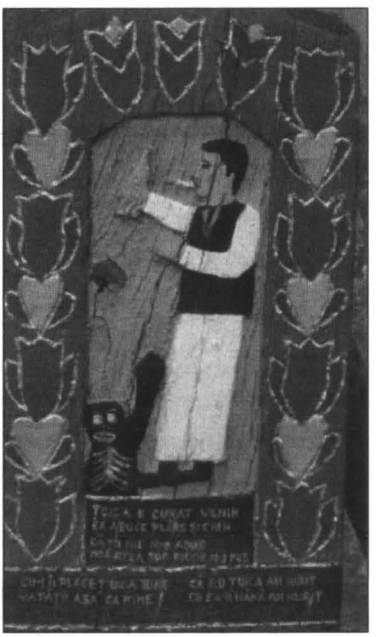

Fig. 11 – Dumitru Holdiș's tomb cross.

In a partial conclusion, we could say that, while it is true Pătraș humanised and changed man's relationship with death by way of his artistic action, it is also true that he pursued this within the structures of a solid religious tradition, seen in an extremely dramatic and potent, although naïve, iconography. Pătraș knew how

[9] *Ibid.*: 203.
[10] *Ibid.*: 273.
[11] *Antologie* 1980: 215, 216, 222.

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to merge the basic elements of Christian theology and the popular beliefs, discernible for instance in how Death is illustrated, both in iconography and in discourse.

ICONOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENTS

The fact that, after the December 1989 Revolution, freedom of thought and religion was reinstated did not alter too much the composition of decorative motifs or of religious scenes in the two Săpânţa cemeteries. Disciples perpetuated the techniques and patterns they had learnt from Pătraş, by sparsely placing "icons" on some crosses or by using more systematically than the master the two white doves placed above the scenes or portraits on the crosses. However, several iconographic evolutions are visible; thus, the disciples draw more accurate, more mannerism like faces, they are more careful in the representation of details, but they do seem to forget about Pătraş's rough spontaneity and originality. The illustrations of Christ and of the Virgin Mary (which are, in fact, the Christian characters that are closest to the believer) appear more frequently, almost exclusively. To exemplify this evolution, all we need to do is compare an icon painted by Pătraş, around 1951 and placed on the frontispiece of his home, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, a cross fragment executed by Dumitru Pop Tincu in 2006, for Ileana Turda, deceased at 47 years of age. Pătraş still keeps a series of canonical principles of illustration, while Tincu shows a Christ, his arms open feigning an embrace, above the scene that adorns the grave in which a grandmother and a granddaughter are resting. Like with most of his crosses, in the case of religious iconography, too, Tincu stands out by purposely baroque solutions and by the preference for the monumental (which often becomes cumbersome).

Fig. 12 – Icon by Ioan Stan Pătraş.

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Fig. 13 – Cross by Dumitru Pop Tincu, 2006.

1. Angels, Saints and Popular Beliefs

Beyond these figurations, which translate in a folk manner the great themes and characters of the Christian iconography, and their corresponding evolutions, some visual elements or epitaph texts refer to a diffuse popular Christianity, with less dogmatic structure and a profound relationship with a sphere of beliefs and practices pervasive in the Romanian rural space. This is the situation of death iconography, which is present at Pătraş, but absent from the works of his followers who apply an art which is more socially suitable and less inclined toward the grotesque and the tragic. However, in two other extremely traditional fields, there is continuity between Pătraş and his disciples, from the viewpoint of beliefs left unstructured from a theological-dogmatic perspective.

a. *Angels*

First, there is the belief that any child who dies at a young age turns into an angel, because his soul is pure, untouched by sin. Therefore, most of the tomb crosses for dead children are decorated with angels who replace or double the portraits, in the Pătraş period or throughout the evolution of the cemetery after the carver's death in 1977. Like in the iconography of Christ, emphases are shifting, starting from the master's directness and going to his followers' mannerism. Pătraş draws the angels either as naked or clothed children with white wings (fig. 14), or as those who are to trumpet the end of the world. In the latter position, too, the

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representations are simple, rough, and they lack the punishing ardour one might expect. The pairing of the angels with a two-headed black bird that holds a curved sword in each of its claws is quite natural, because everything happens on the cross of a "proud" man, who had loved "women and singing" or "wine and pálinka", Toaderu lui Dumitru, dead when he was 71 years of age. The painted image shows this man while he holds a bottle, dancing to the *cetera* (violin) songs, while three women watch him greedily from the right side (fig. 15). But the watchful implacable fate strikes when the angels' trumpets call.

Fig. 14 – Câmpian Ion.

Fig. 15 – Toaderu lui Dumitru, dead at 71 years of age

Pătraş's followers, too, draw angels in the form of anthropomorphic characters, however, with an interesting variation of shapes, in accordance with their personal understanding and with the general evolution of the codes of visual representation. At Dumitru Pop Tincu's angels there is the same gesture of embrace (fig. 16) we could see in the case of Christ (fig. 13), while one of Pătraş's disciples – probably Vasile Stan Colţun – chooses the famous vine leaf to conceal the nakedness of the child turned into an angelic being (fig. 17).

Elsewhere, an angel is seen praying, another has his multiple wings, an angel looks like some contemporary cartoon in a quasi-heraldic composition, two other angels support a medallion with Christ, but most of them continue to be painted particularly at the graves of early deceased children, sometimes infants who had just been baptised (figs. 18–21).

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Fig. 16 – Angel above a pious woman.

Fig. 17 – Angel with vine leaf.

Figs. 18–21 – Angels painted by Pătraș's followers in various circumstances, the first three of them placed on crosses dedicated to very young children.

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b. Elias

Apart from angels, the iconographic and the textual system of the two Săpânţa cemeteries includes a sacred character linked with a complex series of folk beliefs: this is Elias. Master of lightning and thunder, of wind and of rain, Elias, celebrated each year on the 20th of July, has the power to decide where and when it will rain. He travels the skies in his chariot of fire and produces storms. Enemy of the devil, he uses lightning against his adversary, but the devil hides behind buildings, animals, and people. If Elias's lightning mistakenly strikes a human being, he/she will enter Heaven without being tried on the Judgment Day[12].

There are many people dead because they were thunderstruck and who are buried in the two Săpânţa cemeteries; however, it stands written nowhere that they are to go straight to Heaven. Elias is, nevertheless, painted right above the last scene in the earthly life of the deceased, striking them with the lightning and killing them. The oldest such representation still kept on site dates back to 1948 and it can be found in the new cemetery, but its paint washed-out. Pătraş painted the saint in the form of a winged angel who strikes Bodnar George, who was making hay; Elias's lightning resembles a fiery whip: "Sf. Ilie dă cu fulgeru" [Elias strikes with his lightning] stands written above the image. Another cross, dating back to the 1950s, shows a teenager who was also struck by the Saint's lightning, painted here like a regular young man, without wings, dressed in the traditional clothes of the area (fig. 22). The epitaph says: "Aici ieu mă odihnesc/ Şi Stan George mă numesc/ Săraca şi a mea viaţă/ Cum sa topit ca o gheaţă/ C-am fost la cânp la săpat/ Ilie m-au fulgerat/ Tata o rămas supărat/ Şi săraca mama mea/ Că ia în veci nu m-a uita/ Tânăr viaţa o lăsai/ La 19 ai Mort la 1954" [Here I rest by death reclaimed/ Stan George I was named/ Poor me I paid high price/ For my life melted like ice/ In the field I was doing work/ And then Elias struck/ Which had my father heartbroken/ And my mother poor thing/ Could never forget my youth/ Dead at 19, in 1954]. There is another cross, very likely crafted by the same Pătraş, which shows a 13-year old teenager who was struck when he was in bed. Here, Elias has long hair and an almost Christ-like face[13]. He has the same face on a 1999 cross, placed on the grave of a young man nicknamed Dioca Surdului, and most likely created by Vasile Stan Colţun or Gheorghe Stan Colţun (fig. 23). Several illustrative verses in the epitaph are worth mentioning, although Elias is not named: "Lumea toată s-a-ntristat/ Mie ce mi s-a întâmplat/ Fulgeru m-a fulgerat/ Tânăr viaţa mi-a luat/ Când am fost de însurat/ A trăit 23 de ai Mr. 1999" [The whole world is grieving/ At what's been happening/ Thunder struck/ And took me young/ Lived 23 years, dead in 1999].

[12] Taloş 2001: 139–140.

[13] *Sapinta. Le Cimetière joyeux*, Pestarque & Mihăilescu: plate 13.

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Fig. 22, 23 – Young men thunderstruck by Elias, 1954, 1999.

Therefore, Săpânța host a form of permanent adaptation of religious iconography to the local context and traditions, in accordance with the patrons' and audience's request and expectations, in a synoptic approach which is very specific and very interesting for anthropology and social psychology. The supernatural universe of the Săpânța locals is populated by beings who are also mentioned in the Church's teachings, but whom the craftsmen represent in a manner more suitable to their understanding and to the community's specific expectations.

THE UNIVERSE OF POPULAR RELIGIOUS PRACTICES, A FEMININE UNIVERSE?

Any person who walks among the graves in the two Săpânța cemeteries can make an empirical observation, which, however, is worth a detailed analysis I will describe concisely below and develop in a subsequent investigation. Both the epitaph texts and the images depict women with a greater penchant for religion than men. One of their most frequent positions is the praying one, when they sit on their knees in front of an icon or when they hold a rosary. It is only the poses of spinster, weaver and cook that are more frequent than the praying woman's position. In fig. 24, the praying woman is represented in three situations: one in 1974, i.e. during Pătraș's activity, and the other two closer to the contemporary period. Some women's epitaphs are full of religious fervour and show a strong

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attachment to church life and its ceremonial and moral requirements: "De cu tânără copilă/ Am luat Biblia-n mână/ La biserică-am umblat/ Coru eu l-am înfinţat/ Am slujit lui Dumnezeu/ Şi n-am vrut la nime rău/ În biserică-am cântat/ Pe preot l-am ajutat/ La slujbă şi liturghii/ La botez şi cununii/ Şi-am lăsat în urma mea/ Coru care va cânta/ Pe Dumnezeu să-l slăvească/ Pe mine mă pomenească" [I was a child when/ I found the Bible, then/ to the Church I kept going/ and strove to see the Choir sing/ to God I was faithful/ And toward no one was hateful/ To the priest I was helpful/ to service and liturgies/ to baptism and weddings/ Now the choir remains/ God to acclaim/ And from time to time mention my name] (Măria lui Petrenjel, dead in 2003, text by Gheorghe Stan Colţun); "La biserică-am umblat/ Lui D-zeu m-am rugat/ Orce om are păcate/ Ne rugăm să fie ertate/ Moartea cea cu urât nume/ M-o dus de pe asta lume/ La toţi eu vă cer ertare/ Poate-am greşit la oarecare/ D-zeu vă dăie bine/ Şi să nu uitaţi de mine 1931–2005" [To the Church I was faithful/ and in God was hopeful/ We sin as long as we live/ And hope God can forgive/ This foul death/ Took my breath/ Please forgive me/ If ever I wronged thee/ May God bless you/ And don't forget me] (Pop Ileana, also known as Ileana lui Smâc, cross probably executed by the same Gheorghe Stan Colţun).

On the other hand, men are very rarely represented while they pray; instead, they are seen in a wide range of actions that involve first of all intense physical effort (mining, forestry, carpentry, wood-crafting, hay making, hay transport, driving agricultural machines, fishing). As to the church, they have administrative positions attached to the priest: cantor, curator, bell ringer etc. Thus, Grigore Turda's epitaph, written by Gheorghe Stan Colţun in 1999, tells us bluntly and prosaically that the deceased was the son of Ionu Haicului and he had been the village's church singer for 40 years, singing "near the holy altar". Then there is a long list of details on how well he lived, but there is no more information about the religious experience and the prayer. Another cross made by the same Gh. Stan for a man dead in 1948, Ion Şteţ Cantor, tells us that he, too, had served the church for 40 years, but does not say anything about his religious experience as such. In the two cemeteries, I have found only one illustration of a man in a praying position, namely Gheorghe Stan (different from the gravestone creator). He is seen in a church, surrounded by colourful icons – like those produced by the school of Mărgău; he is kneeling and is holding a censer, which visually suggests a position described by the epitaph, i.e. "sacristan" (fig. 23): "Mi-a plăcut încă ceva/ La biserică a umbla/ Lui Dzeu a mă ruga/ După ce am bătrânit/ Eu de crâsnic am venit/ Dar acum la despărţire/ Eu vă doresc numai bine/ 79 ani 1913–1992" [I also liked one more thing/ To the Church and God my prayers to bring/ Then when I grew old in age/ I became a sacristan / And now when we part/ Blessed be your heart/ 79 years old 1913–1992].

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Fig. 24 – Christian women praying.

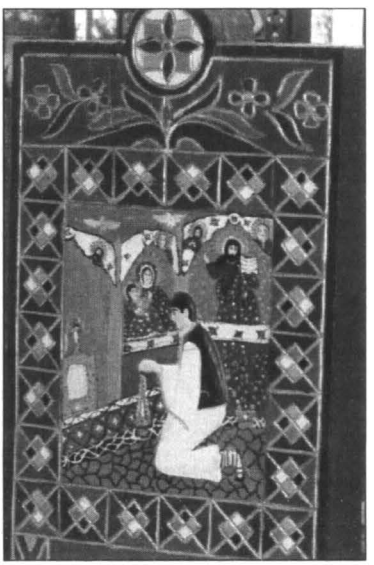

Fig. 25 – Man praying.

While I studied the epitaphs on most of the crosses in the two cemeteries on five age categories: old (61+), adults (41–60 years old), young (21–40 years old), teenagers (11–20 years old), children (0–10 years old), I have gathered a series of interesting findings. In the Pătraş period (before 1977), women are illustrate more prone to the religious life than men. In the old age category (61+), the strict relationship is 2/1, while in the young age category (21–40) feminine religiosity is predominant. Moreover, in the 41–60 category, in the Pătraş period, no man seems to be religious, perhaps because – in the social representations of rural cultures –

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this is the period of full adulthood and power, during which man does not think about death and the hereafter, about the soul and sinning; instead, he thinks about savings, about "fortune", about his social role etc. After Pătraş, and mainly after the 1989 Revolution, the representations of religiosity in epitaphs tend to multiply, both for men and for women, the latter being seen in the contemporary period to as more prone to religious practices.

Why does the collective thought assign women with a greater penchant for religious practices than men? How did these genre stereotypes appear? A first explanation could be that, in traditional societies, women are those who perform a great part of the symbolic gestures relating to initiation rites, particularly to birth[14] and burial, key-moments when the religious feeling can be very intense. The direct relationship of physical contact with the dead, which they clean and prepare for the great journey, as well as with the new-borns, whose path in this world they ease[15], the intensity of the affectionate relationships with the deceased they mourn can only prompt men to grant women the privilege – or the burden – of religiosity. A second explanation could result from the fact that women are exclusively in charge of the children's education, to whom they are to transfer moral and behavioural values. Or, in traditional rural societies, this type of rules is closely linked with the religious act, with the idea of divine justice, of punishment for wrongdoings and of reward for good deeds etc. These explanations could also be completed by the fact that popular mentality transfers to women anything that relates to carefulness and refinement (sewing, weaving, dainty hand-made works), while hard, harsh work is assigned to the masculine standards of rural living. Or religious experience and prayer are matters of nuance and detail, of delicacy and accuracy: the painstaking recital of the rosary, without omissions and blunders, could not be a woodsman's or a hunter's task!

BRIEF CONCLUSION

The phenomena I have described schematically in the previous pages, phenomena identifiable in the two Săpânţa cemeteries, are symptomatic of the manner in which folk/popular religiosity is structured and operates on the side and at the edge of dogmatic, sanctioned religiosity. More flexible, more open, more fascinating, popular religiosity involves social representations (mentality stereotypes, myth-beliefs, practices), the comprehension of which is imperative, yet structured mainly as a self-sufficient cognitive network. Popular religiosity recycles, reinterprets, reuses the religious dogma and is a defining factor of daily life in rural communities.

[14] Marian-Bălaşa 2013: 101–108. The author describes the experience of pregnancy and childbirth, as well as the psycho-neurological phenomena implied in maternity, from the point of view of their rich religious consequences.

[15] Pócs 2003: 367–383.

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THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE DEVIL AND THE DYNAMICS OF THE RELIGIOUS FIELD

MIRCEA PĂDURARU

ABSTRACT

The present article analyses the reasons why under the word Devil there are so many different meanings and it tries to understand the reflexes, the attitudes and the influences that determine the construction of the *Devil concept* by the religious persons. It is argued here that the personal idea of Devil is in fact a pragmatic synthesis between various influences of the most important players from within the religious field (Church, prophet, sorcerer) and some objective, contextual data.

Keywords: religious field, Devil narrative, ethnological discourse, priest, sorcerer.

1. THE CONTEXT OF THE PROBLEM

As I was working some years ago on my PhD thesis on the representation of the Devil in the Romanian imagination I was impressed at that time by the variety of meanings that lie behind the lexeme Devil. Also, last year as I was doing filed research throughout some rural areas near Iaşi, collecting personal narratives on the Devil and talking to people about their religious beliefs, I was struck by the fact that their stories betrayed very different concepts of the Devil. Moreover, within the seminar room, in discussions with first year students with no ethnological training, I've met the same situation. I asked myself: what impulses are at work when people construct their concepts of the Devil? What instances influence their definitions? What sort of facts contribute to the final synthesis which is the personal idea of Devil?

The theme is indeed vast and challenging and requires an extended analysis. In the following lines I intend to discuss the part played by the instances which set in motion the Romanian religious field in the larger game of Devil's conceptualization.

According to Max Weber and Pierre Bourdieu, the dynamics of the religious field has to do with the competition among various religious players over the

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supremacy on the market of religious goods and services. In Romania, as well in the Western World, the supremacy in the religious domain is (still) held by the institution of the Christian Church. For ages the Church's authority has been challenged by other two instances together with which it formed the religious field: *the sorcerer* and *the prophet*. Of course, the religious field is not that simple and the categories defined by Weber, though useful, need to be contextualized to respond to local realities[1]. However, according to this larger picture, the religious player who offers or influences most the construction of Devil's concept has wan a very important symbolic capital: the larger the acceptance of his Devil concept is, the more the "author" will be called to solve problems and to offer solutions. In the final analysis, this means social prestige and power.

For a better contextual determination of the discussion, I would add to the Weberian schemata another player who increases the competition within the Romanian religious field: a certain kind of priest who tries to extend his influence by providing the religious services and goods denied officially by the Church, assuming thus also the role of the sorcerer or of the prophet. Finally, the simple religious actor is not an innocent/passive figure in this context. Both *player in the field* and *consumer* of religious services, as he himself is a person with experience and competence in the supernatural domain, and a very sorcerer and a priest at need. He is also an axiological instance, as he values and discerns the offers. All these players challenge the Church in its claim of absolute legitimacy and superiority over the domain of the religious life, generating a true "black market of religious goods and services", offering an alternative to the services of the Church. In order to be a real *alternative*, the other religious players also need to create a distinct conceptual frame for the supernatural or, at least, alternative concepts to the services they provide. That is why, when the Church refuses, on dogmatic grounds, to offer a certain service, the competitor will be there offering not only the specific religious demand, but also providing – implicitly or explicitly – a conceptual frame in which the respective service is possible, legitimate, good.

The religious players propose Devil concepts and they are based, much as in the old times, on *legitimising narratives*, by discourses which contain in themselves both the thesis and the argumentation of what they proclaim, since a positivistic account carried out with the instruments of the empiric truth is out of the question. Such discourses are produced by the Church and by all the players from within the religious field. Quite recently, an untraditional player joined the game: *the ethnological narrative*. Instead of being equidistant, performing a *meta-*

[1] For example, besides the category of the simple religious actor. recipient of religious services, but, at need, assuming also the role of the priest and sorcerer, I can add also the case of the priest who, besides its institutional legitimacy also assumes the competences of the sorcerer, in the quest of obtaining the supremacy on both official and black market of religious goods and services, as provider of both licit and illicit religious goods.

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discourse based on all the other narratives, it joins the game and "takes sides", defending a position or another, deserting its principal neutrality.

2. DEVIL CONCEPTS AND THEIR LEGITIMIZING NARRATIVES

a. For *the Church*, the major player in the religious field, the Devil is God's disobedient creature. It is responsible for the evil in the world and acts essentially against God, man and creation. The Devil tempts man to sin and rejoices in winning people's souls for eternal damnation. It is to blame for the sickness and suffering throughout the world. It is the archenemy, the calumniator, the accuser and all demons and evil spirits are, in a way or another, its agents. Sorcery, witchcraft and divination are its arts and those who perform such practices do it by its power. Since the Devil is real and powerful, it can provoke physical harm, occupy places and houses as well as possessing human or non-human bodies – willingly offered to him or unwillingly, for it can take them by force. Being God's arm in the world and the only legitimate institution to carry out the fight against the Devil, the Church has the authority and the resources to defeat the Devil through prayers, special liturgies, exorcism rituals etc. It is only within the Church that one is secured/protected by the Devil's tireless attacks. The churches and the priests, the monasteries and the monks/nuns together with their sacred materialities (icons, crucifixes, holy water, incense, the Eucharistic elements etc.) constitute actualisations of the Church's authority. Corduneanu Ecaterina, 72 years old, from *Colțu' Cornii*, a little village situated on the Prut River, knows this very well, since she told me: "Some years ago I heard wired noises and uncommon jerks in the attic of my house, mostly during the night. I knew it was the devil, and it must have come from my neighbour. I called our priest, he made prayers, read the holy book, and sprinkled holy water throughout the house and the devil was gone. Never heard it ever since. My house is clean".

Naturally, as any "big player", the Church's attitude towards the other competitors is severe: it claims absolute superiority and legitimacy over the other players. Everything else is false, demonic or false and demonic. These fixed limits, this harsh *diairetic* response in relation to its adversaries, rigid, polemic, and non-collaborationist attitude define the figure of the Church and the singularity of its position and capabilities in relation to what it considers to be the greatest danger ever known to man: the Devil.

b. For *the sorcerer* too the Devil is real and powerful. But besides what he already accepts from the teachings of the Church, for him/her the Devil is also an instance to be used at need, a capital of power, a resource of supernatural efficiency. Just like all the other figures from the local "pantheon", the Devil too is approached in an instrumental perspective, in a very pragmatic attitude. In this sense, the Devil also can be useful. A huge repertoire of images and allusions from

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the structure of the spells, charms or spell-works contain the magical control of the Devil (fact known very well ever since the 19th Century collections of Simeon Florea Marian and Tudor Pamfile). Moreover, revelatory are the composite formulas from the structure of many spells, where the Devil is invoked to act together, in poetical and magical solidarity with Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, with God himself, or with other saint-figures from within the local supernatural world[2].

This speaks very eloquently about the generosity and ecumenicity of the sorcerer's domain: regardless the ethical dimension (a matter of perspective in this context), and the Church's narrative on the matter, irrelevant here. This cram of supernatural figures functions here as an intensifier to the magical force of the spell. Besides, the sorcerer doesn't despise the materialities of the Church (icons, cross, holy water etc): all are elements of power, whose efficiency can be improved by his intervention. What in Church's official perspective cannot stand together, in the imagination of the sorcerer become only "substances", ingredients that can be joint together so as to produce the desired effect faster and stronger.

The sorcerer's liberty to conceive of the Devil is maximal, because, as Max Webber suggests, he is not part of an institution, forced to cope with others from its own field, but an independent instance who can define its object accordingly to his magical possibilities and pragmatic interests.

c. For *the prophet* the concept of Devil is almost similar to that of the Church, because he doesn't want to challenge the official doctrine or to impose another Devil-concept. Different however is a certain perception about Devil's *presence* and *action* in the world, a perception which – to his view – demands an active and a more efficient response, more intense than the one the Church usually gives. The Romanian public space has recently witnessed a very meaningful expression of the prophet's attitude in relation to the conceptualization of the Devil. A huge scandal sprang in 2009 over the issues of the *biometric passport* and the *biochip* – as alternatives to the old paper-printed passport and the classical medical file. The *prophetic signal* came from Petru Vodă Monastery, from Father Iustin Pârvu and his secretary, monk Filoteu Bălan, who identified in these objects an apocalyptic sigh and, through precise calculations, prayer and reflection, came to the conclusion that these state/UE initiatives are in fact Satan's disguised works: the reversed reading of the word "CARD" designates in Romanian the idea of devil (DRAC), the barcode present on every product is nothing else but the mark of the apocalyptic Beast, the number 666 and the idea of the New World Order are all images and ideas mixed in a apocalyptic discourse. The prophetic signal was heard/followed by hundreds of people from all over Romania, especially from the countryside. Many came to Bucharest to protest in front of the Parliament,

[2] Check out this kind of spells and other types in Pamfile 1998: 133–135.

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convinced that the Devil must be stopped. The alarm was spread also through the internet. The voice of the prophet, monk Filoteu Bălan, kept a discourse in a special Commission from within the Romanian Parliament (on 2nd April 2009), where he talked about Devil, the apocalyptic Beast, and so on. As the elites of the Orthodox Church were silent, an eschatological panic covered a relatively large community of believers from all over Romania. In a very careful/prudent manner, the official answer of the Romanian Orthodox Church came to calm the crowds, affirming the a-religiosity of the problem[3] but bringing into discussion issues such as the anti-democratic character of the initiative and the lack of transparency when taking the decision. Other important figures of the Church (Bishop Bartolomeu Anania, among them) firmly departed from the prophet and the prophecy, talking about values such as discernment and serenity, and drawing attention on other issues of the Christian life. Of course, until today things aren't solved and there still exists a dissident group within the clergy (from Petru Vodă Monastery and from other places) who still believe the Devil to be behind the CARD with *biochip*[4]. Naturally, legends begin to spread. Rumours have it that somebody burnt his biochip CARD and the burning material smelled indeed like burned demon, and so on. A quick search on the internet will reveal the existence of an impressive collection of such stories.

Anyway, the episode is significant: it expresses the tension between the *Church's authority* and the *dissidence of the prophet* as a game of power, which this time is a game with a huge economic stake. Significant is the imaginary set in motion with this occasion: popular theology motifs, naive understandings of the Bible, popular allegories, the symbolical values transformed in concrete elements (the devil himself present substantially in the object) etc. Such a prophetic revelation opposes an intense concretization and historical determination of the Devil to the spiritual and balanced perspective of the Church, fulfilling thus the popular taste for concreteness, sacred and antithesis.

The *Devil narrative* employed by the priest who extends his domain over the traditional territory of the sorcerer is much of a contextual synthesis of the two, difficult to resume, but always actualised in order to respond to or to fulfil – with extra-competence – the needs for immediate and private use of the supernatural. The peasants interviewed by Elena Bărbulescu[5] talk about priests and monks who can perform spells and spell-works just like the usual traditional sorcerers. The concept of Devil itself is not redefined in this case, rather we have here a sort of

[3] See the *Decision 638/2009* given by The Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church from 25th February 2009.

[4] For instance, some priests and theology professors agree that the initiative of Father Iustin is a responsible one, prophetic and theologically justified. See priest prof. dr. Mihai Vladica's article on the topic, printed with the blessing of Bishop Teofan. https://savatie.wordpress.com/2009/01/22/o-parere-aproape-oficiala-a-bor-despre-cipuri/

[5] Bărbulescu 2010: 213, 282 *et. passim*.

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renegotiation of its applicability. Also, it is by this concept that the identity of the priest becomes clearer.

3. THE ETHNOLOGICAL DISCOURSE AS A PLAYER

How can the ethnological discourse influence the religious field? Marin Marian-Bălaşa's article on the *Concept of Popular Religion* (2010), where he – besides many other issues discussed – analyses the Romanian ethnology and its orthodox allegiances, that "orthodox-ize" the popular culture, can provide an answer. Apart from works such as Răzvan Codrescu's *Devil's Dispute with the World. Small Tractate of Applied Demonology*, who simply invites ethnology to humbly confirm the judgements of theology, pleasing thus the Church and himself as a Christian apologist, and the vulgar acts of "betrayal", where ethnology simply joins theology, whom I choose not to discuss, I think there are two subtle ways in which Romanian ethnology narrative on the Devil supports the discourse of the Church on the matter:

1. by cultivating the *systemic perspective* over the local mythology, which depicts the Devil according to the biblical model, as the leader of the infernal domain, perspective which has many things in common with Church demonology[6]. The analysis of the Devil in such terms represents a discrete modality of coming to terms with Church's Devil concept and a tacit acceptance of the Christian thinking schemata.

2. by cultivating the *official religion/popular religion* dichotomy without the awareness of its ideological background[7], because this opposition inculcates the centrality and the superiority of the official and the marginality and the inferiority of the popular, suggesting a judgement of value and also bringing an improper moral theme (but from the Church's point of view!) in a discussion whose object is not morality but religious experience *per se*. In the final analysis, this attitude also supports the Church's narrative on the Devil.

4. THE PRAGMATIC SYNTHESIS

Beyond the propaganda and the competition from within the religious field, the simple religious actor, consumer of religious goods and services, is above all a

[6] A more neuter perspective would have been that of the little embraced *diffuse mythology* (Hedeşan 2000).

[7] Don Yoder's article from 1974, *Toward a Definition of Folk Religion*, makes a short history of the dichotomy. He reminds that the concept of *folk religion*/"«religiose Volkskunde» was in fact coined by the Lutheran minister Paul Drews in 1901 to prepare young seminary graduates for the radically different ideas of their rural congregants" (Yoder 1974: 2–3). So the concept was born within the Church for polemical reasons – that is, designed to produce polarities and to discriminate the truth from the false, according to its own criteria.

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pragmatic instance. Faced with a multifaceted/pluriforme evil, his Devil concept can't be otherwise but dynamic and "ecumenical". In the end it must be a pragmatic synthesis between *the objective data of the contextual evil* and the convincing/appropriate Devil narrative. The final synthesis can rarely indicate a clear winner/a clear option from the conceptual Devil offer – Church, prophet or sorcerer. In the construction of the personal/contextual Devil concept two concerns seem to be at work: a concern for legitimacy and agreement with the Church (at least formal) and a concern for pragmatism, of a concept adequate to the sacred experience. This double concern sets in tension two kinds of authority. In Borrowing Bochenski's terms[8] these are the *deontische autorität*, given by tradition, by the status of superiority in accepted scheme of things (Church/priest) and *epistemische autorität*, represented by the one who knows more and better (prophet/sorcerer). Since the players from the religious field sensed this need, some of them tried to join the two demands in the same instance – the *prophet* who is also a *priest/monk* or the *priest/monk* who is also a *sorcerer*. From the field investigations results undoubtedly that one single instance is rarely trusted to carry out the fight against the Devil. To be sure of his success, the Romanian peasant will appeal to the solutions of the *Church*, but will also fulfil the set of acts prescribed by the *sorcerer*, and, in the same time, will listen to the *prophet*. The contextual evil/threatening/problem will decide which ingredients will prevail in the final synthesis.

Since it is the result of a synthesis in which coexists a plurality of sources, of needs and contextual challenges, the variety, instability and the open character of such a construct seem to express the very nature of the Devil concept. On the other hand, it is clear that the concept of the Devil has become a "locus" where the conceptualization and narrative powers of the players from within the religious field dispute their authority. And so far, the concept of Devil, in the field analyses, proves to be ecumenical, rich, and accommodating[9].

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ETHNOGRAPHIC AUTHENTICITY IN ROMANIA: VISUAL AND NARRATIVE HIGHLIGHTS OF PATERNITY IN CRAFTS

MARIN CONSTANTIN

ABSTRACT

Authenticity is one of the most recurrent themes in Romanian ethnographic literature as well as in the current vocabulary of peasant artisans. The present article basically assumes that authenticity might be investigated in a "rearward" manner, in the attempt of identifying circumstances in which a direct relationship could be established between a given craftsman – as bearer of folk traditions – and his/her artifacts. To the extent to which such "tracking" would "map" the folk-art creation and diffusion, it could presumably be approached (in ethnographic terms) as a possible *quest for authenticity*, in accordance with a series of functional *layers* in contemporary artisanship, as concerns "main", "secondary", and "tertiary" types of folk artwork clientele and also the "local-and-regional", "national", and "international" provenance of it.

Keywords: Romania, ethnography, crafts, authenticity.

In Romanian ethnography, *authenticity* is probably one of the most recurrent themes, which equally applies to the local specialized literature and the current vocabulary of peasant craftsmen, as "bearers" of folk traditions in the country. As a matter of fact, the academic vision about the ethno-folkloristic authenticity of autohtonous villages is constantly reproduced by the narrativity of the villagers themselves – as if such "property" of rural occupations and ethos since forever would continously be implicit in the work or artifacts of contemporary peasantry. In what follows, I am interested in the argumentation of artisans from several ethnographic areas of Romania, with the scope of discerning some criteria of clarifying what could confer "authenticity" (as a symbolic endowment) to the *countryside world*, both in its present conservatism and transformation.

Most often, *authenticity* is irreducibly associated with virtues like the *ancestry* and *good taste* of traditional cultures. Romanian craftsmen also insist on the "power of authenticity" (similar to a sort of generative matrix of customary

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values), in contrast to the market competition for such values. Nevertheless, when one of the artisans referred to below in this text (Nicolae Diaconu) upholds that peasants in the past would have been "more authentic" than nowadays, he implies not so much the social recontruction of a "village-as-an-idea" (in philosopher Lucian Blaga's sense of the term, see Footnote 9), as simply his own thematic (rather anhistorical) template, that of the *Universe of Romanian Village*.

The ethnographic literature in Romania similarly exploits authenticity as an "organic part in the making of [crafted] objects", through an approach favoring the originality of peasant artifacts – in terms of conception, working techniques, ornamentation, etc. – which is in contrast to their immitation by persons authorized neither through any descent of their craft proficiency, nor through any recognized academic reference[1]. Since authenticity (along with local patriotism) generates a "core value" in the artisanship ethos, it is supposed to remain "ineluctably conditioned by the intergenerational transmission of traditional patterns existing since time immemorial"[2].

AUTHENTIC, AUTHENTICITY, AND AUTHENTICATION IN CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

In one of his classic texts (1958), Claude Lévi-Strauss contrasts traditional vs. modern societies through the very notion of *authenticity*, which, more than a simple vernacular or analytical theme (even if a persistent one), is thus given an existential quality as well.

> *Si l'on considère avec attention les points d'insertion de l'enquête anthropologique, on constate,* [...] *qu'en s'intéressant de plus en plus à l'étude des sociétés modernes, l'anthropologie s'est attachée à y reconnaître et y isoler des niveaux d'authenticité. Ce qui permet à l'ethnologue de se trouver sur un terrain familier quand il étudie un village, une entreprise, ou un «voisinage» de grande ville* [...], *c'est que tout le monde y connaît tout le monde, ou à peu près.* [...] *la plus importante contribution de l'anthropologie aux sciences sociales est d'avoir introduit (d'ailleurs inconsciemment) cette distinction capitale entre deux modalités d'existence sociale : un genre de vie perçu à l'origine comme traditionnel et archaïque, qui est avant tout celui des sociétés authentiques; et des formes d'apparition plus récente, dont le premier type n'est certainement pas absent, mais où des groupes imparfaitement et incomplètement authentiques se trouvent organisés au sein d'un système plus vaste, lui-même frappé d'inauthenticité*[3].

[1] Vlăduțiu 1981: 66–67.
[2] Constantin: 2007a: 565.
[3] Lévi-Strauss 1958: 402–403.

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In the French scholar's view, the *niveaux d'authenticité* – as established by anthropological inquiry – suggest a sort of "sedimentation" of cultural experience, which is somewhat similar to the archaeological stratigraphy, while not revealing (despite the explicit opposition between *archaïque* and *moderne*) any evolutionist stadialism: the *apparition récente* of some *groupes imparfaitement et incomplètement authentiques* is, however, a recognition of a resilient (albeit diminished) authenticity of them[4].

On the contrary, E. Cohen distinction[5] between the "authenticity of experts" (including curators, ethnographs, and anthropologists) and the "authenticity of tourists" (in their "experiential", "recreational", and "diversionary" hypostases) is concerned with our days' authenticity, as a phenomenon appropriate to the contemporary world with its ideas, rather than a "survival" of the communities from the past. As such, in lieu of a "primitive concept", *authenticity* is actually equated to the "modern people's quest", with their aspiration of reakawening ancient customs and "preserving" cultural traditions. It is the same author that particularly argues on the role that the "commoditization" of folk arts could play in the discovery of "new [cultural] meanings for the locals" and in "reviving" peasant crafts in decline[6].

As a matter of fact, authenticity debate may entail many other issues that go beyond the aforementioned dichotomies of "archaic" *vs.* "modern" societies and "expert" *vs.* "tourist" perspectives on traditional values and lifestyle. According to a recent study, several "dilemmas" have to be approached within the authenticity "deep", "authenticity vs. inauthenticity" opposition, the "invention of tradition" claims, "authentication", and "conceptualizations in context"[7]. In D. Theodossopoulos' account, such themes actually enlighten the "negotiation of parallel authenticities in tension" all of which pointing to basically anthropological conceptualization of the "identity of persons and groups", the "authorship of products, producers, and cultural practices", and the "categorical boundaries of society"; after all, it is the

[4] The *niveaux d'authenticité* are generally related to those "modes d'activité sociale (isolables, même au sein des sociétés modernes ou «civilisées»), mais qui se définissent, dans tous les cas, par une densité psychologique particulière, et où les relations interpersonnelles et le système des rapports sociaux s'intègrent pour former un tout" (Lévi-Strauss 1958: 409).

[5] Cohen 1998: 371–386.

[6] Such tourism-based revitalization of folk arts is seen by the author as an "emergent authenticity", which he discuss (in analogy with the concept of "emergent ethnicity", cf. Yancey et al. 1976) in terms of a "cultural product, or a trait thereof [...] [that] in the course of time [may] become generally recognized as authentic, even by experts"; thus, the "craft products initially produced merely for sale to visitors and tourists, may eventually become "authentic" products of an ethnic group or region" (Cohen1998: 379). "Emergent authenticity" is in this case referred to the concept of "emergent ethnicity" (see Yancey et al. 1976: 391–403).

[7] Theodossopoulos 2013: 337–360.

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"relational" character of authenticity that recommends it to the "comparative ethnographic analysis"[8].

TRACKING AUTHENTICITY IN FOLK ARTS: THREE CASE STUDIES AMONG ROMANIAN CRAFTSMEN

The basic hypothesis of the present article is that authenticity might be investigated in a "regressive" manner, simply by attempting to identify those *loci* or circumstances in which a direct relationship could be established between a given "creator" and bearer of folk traditions and his/her working outcomes. Of course that, strictly speaking, such a connection is evident in the course of any public demonstration of personal mastery in handling a tool and giving shape to a given artifact. However, beyond artwork and its performative virtues, I argue that authenticity – due to the very modern "common wisdom" with which it is associated (such as among the "experts" and "tourists" from above) – also dwells on an equally meaningful exhibition dimension.

Indeed, while it would be difficult to encounter craftsmen in isolate villages to particularly take care of the "authenticity" of what they locally do, the acuity of being or not "authentic" clearly increases in accordance with the interaction between those craftsmen and their regional and mostly transregional environments. From this point of view, a "working outcome" is not only embedded into crafted objects of a "use value" among villagers, but, as reverberating across diverse cultures and areas of public interest, it consists of many other "added values" including (for example) originality, trading equivalency, competitiveness, cultural heritage qualities, and so on.

In what follows, three cases of Romanian artisans are discussed, as each of them may be said to live within the bucolic framework of their "village-as-an-idea", while – from time to time – they attend events that rather belong to the international sphere of the "global village"[9]. Two of these craftsmen – Pavel Caba (born 1937) and Dan Gherasimescu (born 1958) – are woodcarvers, and one of them – Nicolae Diaconu (born 1955) – is a ceramist. All of them are easily to meet at the fairs organized by museums in Romanian cities (especially in Bucharest and Sibiu). Pavel Caba originates in Nereju village of Vrancea County (Southern Moldavia) and Dan Gherasimescu is a native villager of Valea Danului, in Argeş County (Northern Wallachia). As for Nicolae Diaconu, he was born in the Moldavian village of Ţibăneşti-Sofroneşti (Iaşi County); in present days, he lives in

[8] Comparison is (among others) a means of distinguishing – in the authors' words – between "[...] authenticity as originality or representativeness (as expected by tourists) and authenticity as tradition (as understood by the locals)" (Theodossopoulos 2013: 346–347).

[9] For a discussion on the Romanian craftsmen's twofold positioning in traditional "villages-as-an-idea" (*satul idee*, in philosopher Lucian Blaga's phrase, see Blaga 1937) and also in the modern "global village" (McLuhan1975 [orig. 1962]), see Constantin 2014: 197–208.

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the small town of Codlea (Braşov County). In terms of their foremost specialization, Pavel Caba and Dan Gherasimescu distinguish themselves in the making of wooden flutes and in the carving of the so-called *Fantastic Bird* (in Romanian: *Pasărea Măiastră*), which is inspired from the local folklore of Romania. Nicolae Diaconu is renowned for his clay-made figures of "Romanian peasants" (i.e. various characters evoking a generic peasantry, sometimes reproducing historical and literary sceneries from the Romanian past[10]).

All the craftemen from above (as well as probably many other folk artisans in contemporary Romania[11]) may be documented within three different and yet interconnected cultural scenes which – at least from a theoretical viewpoint – recall both Lévi-Strauss' *niveaux d'authenticité* and Cohen's divide between the "authenticity of experts" and the "authenticity of tourists". To be sure, Pavel Caba, Dan Gherasimescu, and Nicolae Diaconu are not only makers of their artefacts, but also active diplayers and promotors of what they do, in the framework of national and international folk-arts exhibition arenas. In describing the three mentioned artisans' experience, I shall refer first to the most external of such "arenas", that of the Folklife Festival as organized by the Smithsonian Institution in Washington (1999).

When interviewed by me (in 2002, 2003, and 2005), P. Caba, D. Gherasimescu, and N. Diaconu evoked (among other issues) their presence within the Romania's team of 130 musicians, dancers, and craftsmen, which attended the 1999 Folklife Festival, together with similar delegations from South Africa and the New Hampshire State. The following photos accurately show the three Romanian artisans while performing their crafts in Washington, in front of an audience of more than 1,000,000 visitors, then in the museum folk fairs in Romania, and third, in the framework of the craftsmen's home workshops[12].

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[10] Of the themes of Nicolae Diaconu's ceramics, *Barefoot Peasants* addresses the Russian policy of denationalization of Romanians in postwar Bessarabia. Another composition – *Hoopoe in the Linden Tree* – is treated by N. Diaconu in accordance with the well-known *Childhood Memories* of Moldavian writer Ion Creangă (1839–1889) (see Constantin 2007a: 576, 578).

[11] Among further Romanian craftsmen who took part in the Smithsonian Folklife Festival, potter Gheorghe Iorga, weaver Iulia Goran, woodcarver Teodor Bârsan, and potter Florin Colibaba were present in 2003 and 2005 within folk fairs hosted in Bucharest by the Village Museum, the Museum of Romanian Peasant, and in Sibiu by The Astra Museum of Folk Civilisation. In 2003 and 2005, two of these artisans were interviewed by the author of this article, during their craftwork in home workshops from Horezu town (Gh. Iorga), Bârsana village (T. Bârsan) (see Constantin 2003: 75–107, and Constantin 2007b: 418–424).

[12] The photos nos. 1–3 are snapshots from the film *Folk Life Festival: România – porţi deschise. Washington, 1999*, Astra Museum of Folk Civilization, Sibiu, 1999; the same reference is quoted as concerns the number of visitors at the 1999 Smithsonian Folklife Festival. The photos nos. 4-7 have been taken by the author of this text, during his fieldwork in Vrancea (2002), Bucharest (2003, 2005), and Sibiu (2005). The photo no. 8 is reproduced from the film *Valea Danului, Dan Gherasimescu şi Petre Popescu Olt* (http://youtu.be/a8jcuGc1Kvg). The photo no. 9 is a snapshot from the film *Poveştile lutului* by Corina Mihăescu (1996) (http://youtu.be/4bbrlWlk1qU).

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Photo 1 – Pavel Caba at the Smithonian Folklife Festival (1999).

Photo 2 – Dan Gherasimescu at the Smithonian Folklife Festival (1999).

Photo 3 – Nicolae Diaconu at the Smithonian Folklife Festival (1999).

Photo 4 – Pavel Caba at the Romanian Peasant Museum (2003).

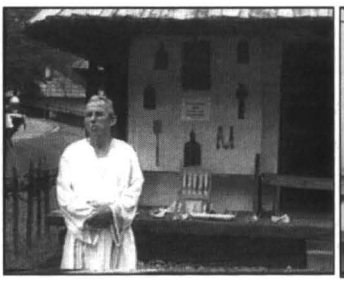

Photo 5 – Dan Gherasimescu at the Astra Museum of Folk Civilisation (2005).

Photo 6 – Nicolae Diaconu at the Romanian Peasant Museum (2005).

Photo 7 – Pavel Caba in his workshop from Nereju Village (2002).

Photo 8 – Dan Gherasimescu in his workshop from Valea Danului Village (2009).

Photo 9 – Nicolae Diaconu in his workshop from Codlea Town (1996).

As can be seen, in each of the afore-reproduced "frames" of displaying folk arts, Pavel Caba, Dan Gherasimescu, and Nicolae Diaconu are presenting their crafts and artifacts as a basic resource of authorship and representativeness within and in respect of peasant traditions in Romania. My photographic choices are those of an observer who, after knowing such artisans in a neutral (international) context, seeks to track their work inside national folk fairs, and eventually in the very daily framework in which such work takes place, namely the craftsmen's workshops. To

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the extent to which this "tracking" is intended to "map" the folk-art creation and diffusion, I assume that it could be approached (in ethnographic terms) as a possible *quest for authenticity*.

AUTHENTICATING ROMANIAN ARTISANSHIP

In a previous study, I identified several "types of customer addressability" of Romanian artisanship in the case of Romanians travelling abroad and foreign tourists visiting Romania (*main clientele type*), then as regards the owners of "rustic" restaurants and folk-art shops, fiddlers and folk musicians, schools and churches, and the "new rich" of a "[folk] art taste" (*secondary clientele type*); in the end, there are the collectors and the "folk art connoisseurs" (*tertiary clientele type*). In terms of clientele provenance, I also distinguished (in the same work) a *local-and-regional level* (among folk-music bands, schools and churches), next a *national level* (including Romanians travelling abroad, along with collectors and folk art connoisseurs), and finally an *international level* (as represented by foreign tourists in Romania and by Romanian diasporas)[13].

With their "multilayered" practice of Romanian folk arts, Pavel Caba, Dan Gherasimescu, and Nicolae Diaconu may be referred to such categories of clientele addressability and provenance for the their handicrafts. In their narratives, one way or another, each of them are relating the folk arts they convey to public audience – in Romania or abroad – meaning those clients not only and simply "buy" artifacts, but also asses and validate the art values of such "objects" and traditional skills; in a word, along with the "exchange value" of money, what Romanian artisans receive from their customers is *authentication* of their work.

Within the Smithsonian festival, P. Caba needed to play his flutes for tourist groups that were visiting his exhibition stand, as similarly D. Gherasimescu and N. Diaconu, with their carving and ceramic tools, respectively, did. According to P. Caba, he proved his carving skills and technical knowledge when Americans asked him about such instruments as the ocarina and the bagpipe. D. Gherasimescu, in his turn, performed woodcarving for the "torrent" of "thousands of visitors" who came to see the peasant "ambassadors of Romania" in America. As for N. Diaconu, he remembers the "permanent crowd" of people "applauding" him when, during the same Folklife Festival, he did "[craft] demonstration of 40 minutes long" such as the work *Elder standing on a log*.

As regards the national "showroom" of their crafts, P. Caba, D. Gherasimescu, and N. Diaconu especially mention the open-air ethnographic museums (such as Romanian Peasant Museum in Bucharest, and the Astra Museum of Folk Civilisation in Sibiu). This time, their perspective is not unanimous, with P. Caba and D. Gherasimescu overtly recognizing the museums' role in inviting them to attend folk fairs and exhibit there artifacts, and with N. Diaconu remarking the same museums'

[13] Constantin 2007b: 418–424.

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public benefits due to their invited craftsmen. While P. Caba and D. Gherasimescu are moderate in their expectations for the vendabilility of their artifacts within the folk fairs in the museums, N. Diaconu is interested into enlarging the economic relevance of his craft through a better integration of traditional culture with tourism.

It is the rural "level" of craftsmanship, as centered on the artisans' home workshops, that thirdly (or, if preferred, first of all) grounds what Pavel Caba, Dan Gherasimescu, and Nicolae Diaconu do and say about their own traditional authenticity. All our interlocutors evoque their genealogical branching in woodcarving (P. Caba's father, daughter, and son-in-law; D. Gherasimescu's grandfather and father; N. Diaconu's son). Beside such family framework of craft specialization, the three craftsmen emphasize their personal handwork as a core argument in legitimizing the belongingness and representativeness they aver vis-à-vis Romanian folk arts. In their own words, P. Caba is able "to do almost everything of wood", D. Gherasimescu is "the only [craftsman] still carving the *Fantastic Bird* model", and N. Diaconu is "only one" to have brought clay figures shaping in the ceramic tradition of his area.

When inspecting the abovementioned instances of practicing folk crafts, to an important extent, the notions of *handwork*, *exhibition*, and *performance* come to summarize the process of genesis, representation, and appraisal of Romanian artisanship. On behalf of its contextual applicability and function, authenticity in art has been defined as "nominal" and "expressive", as well as "instrumental", in order to distinguish between its original, representative, and strategic meanings and uses[14]. However, *handwork*, *exhibition*, and *performance* are not simple and arbitrary phases of "giving tradition a trademark"[15]. As far as – from Washington Folklife Festival to the craft workshops from Argeş, Braşov, Vrancea, passing through the museums from Bucharest and Sibiu – it is possible to track the origin of one or another folk art by following the artwork of identifiable artisans, such craftsmen's work and artifacts may (in my viewpoint) be agreed on in terms of *authentication*. In other terms, authenticity would emerge as a gradual and external acknowledgment of the *folk value* ascribed – by "tourists" and "experts" – to aboriginal artisans and "objects" once they are recognized by national museums and (further on) chosen for, and displayed within, international events.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As shown in the above-discussed vignettes, the basic assumption of *folk authenticity* is that of a value which is rather conferred from outside to people, cultural lifestyles, and artifacts – as a public recognition of their *traditional* character. With the aim of providing some evidences of what such value and recognition would imply, I have been engaging above in a sort of "microscopy" of

[14] For the "nominal" and "expressive" stances of authenticity, see Dutton 2003: 258–274. The "instrumental" authenticity is theorized in Banks 2012: 160–171. The two works are cited by Theodossopoulos 2013: 353.

[15] Constantin 2009: 141–159.

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paternity in folk arts, with regard to three ethnographic references for the study of "authentic" craftsmanship in Romania. The perspective that my approach seeks to allow for resembles to a spiral first "opened" into the *global* hypostasis of the Washington Folklife Festival, then "moved down" into the *national* scene of the museums folk fairs in Bucharest and Sibiu, and last but perhaps most noteworthy – "deepened" into the *local* framework of the craft workshops in villages from the areas of Argeş, Braşov, and Vrancea.

In fact, these *instants* of ethnographic exposure are in accordance with a series of functional *layers* in the artisanship of today, as concerns "main", "secondary", and "tertiary" types of folk artwork clientele, as well as the "local-and-regional", "national", and "international" provenance of it.

To the extent to which such visual and narrative highlights may shape or even endorse the authorship of certain craft techniques and artifacts, and in doing so, the identity of certain contemporary bearers of peasant traditions, the ethnographic authenticity is expected to synthesize the three "stages" of the origin, representation, and "convertibility" of folk arts in Romania.

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OLD OCCUPATIONS IN A SUB-CARPATHIAN AREA OF ROMANIA: CARTOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE FROM THE 18th TO THE 20th CENTURIES

GABRIELA OSACI-COSTACHE, OCTAVIAN COCOŞ, ALINA COCOŞ

ABSTRACT

This research retraces the ethnographic landscape of the last two hundred years in the Sub-Carpathian area between the Olt and Dâmboviţa rivers, with the help of nine large-scale historical maps. The useful information for the intellectual reconstruction of the past cultural landscape was processed in GIS environment (using the QGIS software), thus being established the precise locations of the old occupations. These have been identified based both on the place names that refer directly to the occupations and on the toponyms that merely suggest them (352 altogether), by pointing to construction elements dedicated to various occupations (sheepfolds, worksohps, etc.) or to the specific working tools, raw materials, old agricultural practices and outcomes. Likewise, the authors have taken into account 2160 map symbols, in order to capture elements from the past (mills, sawmills, dwellings, stagecoach stops, pastures, etc.). In the study area, there have been identified both agricultural occupations (related to crop growing, but especially to stock breeding, which was the main traditional occupation) and non-agricultural ones (related to wood processing, mining, etc.). The analyzed cartographic data have also allowed us to discover a number of extinct occupations.

Keywords: old occupations, extinct occupations, historical cartography, toponyms, ethnographic landscape, Muşcelele Argeşului.

1. INTRODUCTION

The present study is a cartographic approach that aims at capitalizing the old cartographic documents, considered to be genuine „treasures waiting to be unearthed and interpreted"[1]. The maps show not only locations and landscapes features at some point in the past, but also their evolution, which can be easily highlighted by diachronic cartography. The study of landscapes is important as they give information about the economy of a region, while also being a testimony

[1] Rombai 2010: 69.

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of the civilization degree of a human community at a precise moment in time[2]. Over the time, they make up a real "stratigraphy" of landscapes and associated toponyms[3]. In their turn, the toponyms, "a real archive of a nation"[4], mirror the social and natural realities, being in many cases the only lasting evidence of the existence of a landscape that at present is completely altered by human activities[5]. Numerous studies have proved that the toponyms preserved on maps for hundred or thousand years represent genuine "informative relics"[6] or „the relics of human geography"[7]. Due to the wealth of information, they express the relationships between culture and environment[8]. When we speak about the "stratification" of toponyms, we have to distinguish between natural/folk toponyms, and artificial toponyms, imposed by the authorities[9], which impedes the geographical approach of the old place names.

Toponymy is a part of the intelectual heritage of a nation, which also includes the archaeological remains, as well as the architectural and historical-artistic values[10]. Various authors have advocated that cultural values need to be considered as specific features of geosites and geomorphosites[11], and that toponyms are part of the cultural heritage of a region. Other authors[12] have considered the cultural/historical/religious values as additional elements, but even so, the toponyms can be looked at as supplemetary values of geosites and geomorphosites, as components of cultural value[13].

Numerous works have already proved (theoretically or through case studies) the importance of toponymy for geographical approaches[14] and historical cartography[15]. It is worth noting that preliminary investigations of the study area with regard to the use of historical cartography (including map's inscriptions) in the reconstruction of the history of the landscape have already been accomplished[16], but they relied solely on traditional cartographic methods. In order

[2] Lorenzi 2007: 145–146.
[3] De Vecchis 2004: 710.
[4] Iordan 1963: 2.
[5] Arena 2004: 706.
[6] Boninsegna 2003.
[7] J. Bruhnes, *apud* Cassi 1998: 22.
[8] De Vecchis 2004: 711; Palagiano 2004: 20.
[9] Osaci-Costache 2012: 40.
[10] Massimi–Fuschi 2007: 686.
[11] Panizza 2001; Panizza–Piacente 1993.
[12] Reynard–Fontana–Georgia–Kozlik–Scapozza, 2007; Reynard 2009.
[13] Osaci-Costache 2012: 41.
[14] Iordan 1963; Conea 1969; Dragu 1973; Moise 2000, 1992; Arena 2004; Aversano 2007; Nicolae–Suditu 2008.
[15] Thomas 2001; Lago 2004; Robinson 2004; Rosselli–Paulmier 2006; Campiani–Garberi 2008; Gregori 2008; Dai Prà 2007; Osaci-Costache 1999, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2009, 2010, 2012; Armaş–Osaci-Costache–Braşoveanu 2014, etc.
[16] Osaci-Costache 1999, 2001, 2002, 2004, etc.

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to deepen the subject we have decided to resume the research using digital mapping.

Consequently, this study aims at using cartographic clues (map symbols, toponyms) in GIS environment for unveilling, locating and inventorying the old trades and occupations in the Sub-Carpathian area between the Olt and Dâmboviţa rivers. We set our mind from the very beginning to identify the occupations, too, and not only the trades, which would imply the existence of an artisan and would exclude other traditional domestic pursuits. On the other hand, if we had focused entirely on the crafts we would have left aside the traditional agricultural occupations, which would have narrowed the scope of the research.

The already published works have proved that, in general, some crafts may not be documented by census records, as in the case of the town of Bârlad, for which the written documents did not mention until 1885 neither inns nor innkeepers, although there were many establishments of this kind[17]. However, their existence could be proved by the testimony of various artisans or of those who had completed a transaction[18]. In other cases, some rare crafts were not at all documented (see the *dohotari* case in the present research). Consequenlty, without minimizing the importance of written documents for certifying some old occupations, we deem that historical maps not only can bring supplementary information (because historical documents are incomplete), but also have the advantage that the information is located geographically, thus allowing us to understand the spatial distribution of some traditional occupations. Besides, most toponyms recorded on maps are still in use today, even though in some cases the people fail to understand their original meaning, as the respective occupations have long disappeared (for instance *cărbunar* and *glăjer*). The promotion and protection of ethnographic and environmental values can only be made by knowing the old traditions (which is also true for the locals). Among them, we can also include the old occupations analyzed within the context of traditional peasant activities, which were carried out in close relationship with the natural resources[19].

2. STUDY AREA

This research is focused on a Sub-Carpathian area (about 1,500 km^2) belonging to the Romanian territory, lying in the Getic Sub-Carpathians and adjoining the Făgăraş Mts. (in the north), the Getic Piedmont (in the south), the Olt River (in the west) and the Dâmboviţa River (in the east). This area, which has been inhabited since the Old Stone Age[20], takes pride in the fact that here were situated the first two Romanian capitals: Curtea de Argeş and Câmpulung. The

[17] Câlţia 2011: 323.
[18] Câlţia 2011: 349.
[19] Stănciulescu 2006: 80.
[20] Păunescu 2000: 139–159.

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study area encompasses the northern part of the Argeş County and smal areas in the northern territories of the Vâlcea and Dâmboviţa counties (Fig. 1).

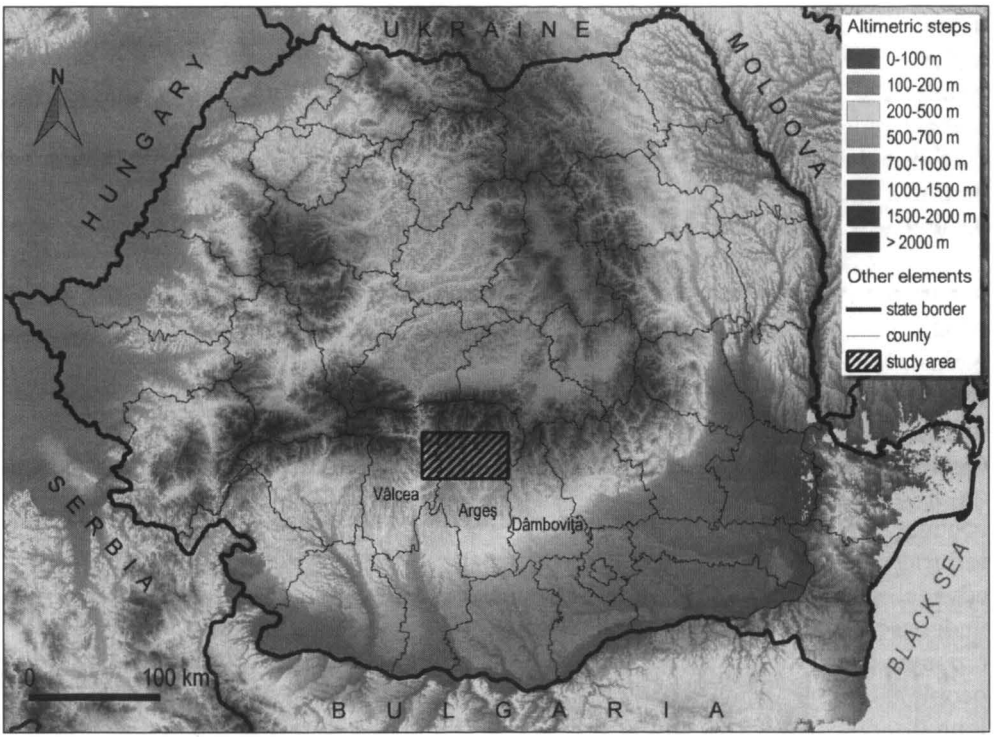

Fig. 1 – Location of the study area within Romania.

We have focused our attention on this study area, which goes by the name of *Muşcelele Argeşului*[21], because previous studies have shown that it still preserves traditional occupations[22]. From ethnographic perspective, the Muşcel area overlaps the Câmpulung Depression[23], but the term *muşcel* can be extended to the entire investigated territory. The word has pastoral meanings, inasmuch as "*muşcelele* are always Sub-Carpathian ridges covered not by forest, but by pastures and hayfields"[24], being a "place for grazing, a land area covered by pastures and hayfields, usually situated on the hills bordering the mountains; (...) the folk term *muşcel* refers to an economic function related to the pastoral capitalization of the deforested hills lying to the south of this section of the Southern Carpathians"[25].

[21] Posea–Badea 1984; Posea, 1993: 57.
[22] Stănciulescu–Stănciulescu 1996; Ghinoiu 2005; Osaci-Costache 2009.
[23] Chelcea 1997.
[24] Conea 1960: 82.
[25] Nedelcu 1974.

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3. DATA SOURCE AND METHODS

For getting to know the old trades and occupations, thus discovering the elements of interest for our research, we analyzed the main large-scale topographic maps (excepting the Russian Map) of the period 1790–1997 (Table 1 and Fig. 2).

Table 1

Cartographic sources

Map	Survey	Issue	Scale
Specht's Map	1790–1791	1791	1:57,600
Russian Map	1828–1829	1835 and 1853	1:420,000
Szathmary's Map (Charta of Southern Romania)	1855–1857	1864	1:57,600
3rd MilitaryMappingSurvey of Austria-Hungary* http://lazarus.elte.hu/hun/digkonyv/topo/3felmeres.htm	1806–1869	around 1910	1:200,000
Topographic map in Bonne projection	1895–1900	1908–1916	1:100,000
Topographic map in Lambert projection	1900–1929	1931–1958	1:20,000
Topographic map in Gauss-Krüger projection	1951–1958	1960–1961	1:25,000
Topographic map in Gauss-Krüger projection	1980	1980	1:25,000
Topographic map in UTM* projection	1997	1997	1:50,000

*Maps in digital format

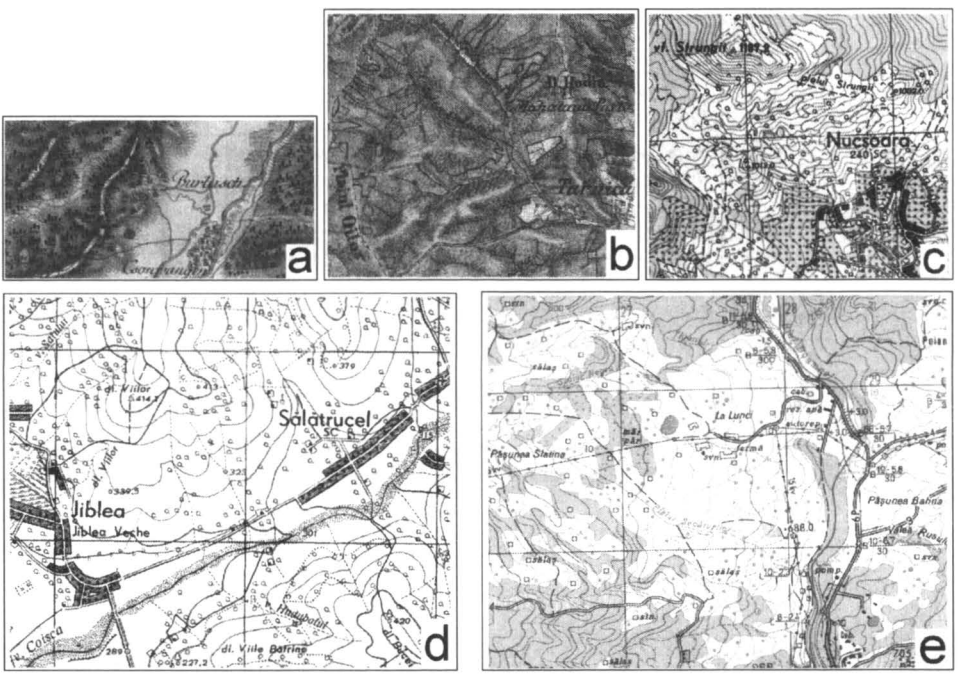

Fig. 2 – Historical maps (fragments): a) Specht's Map; b) Szathmary's Map (Charta of Southern Romania); c) Topographic map in Gauss-Krüger projection (1960); d) Topographic map in Lambert projection; e) Topographic map in Gauss-Krüger projection (1980).

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In order to use as efficiently as possible the cartographic information we decided to analyze both the toponyms (refering either to occupations or to constructions associated to traditional occupations, tools, traditional practices, products, etc., of which we were able to infer the traditional trades) and the map symbols (water mills, sheepfolds, saw mills, pastures, etc.), which suggest the existence of particular occupations in the past.

We made use of numerical cartography due to the advantages it offers[26], while the *Open Source* software we opted for was QGIS (http://www.qgis.org).

Our research was carried out in several stages, as follows:

a) scanning the historical maps that were not in digital format, at a resolution of 300 dpi, and saving them in raster format (.tiff);

b) georeferencing the maps in a common reference system (Dealul Piscului 1970/Stereo 70);

c) extracting the toponyms and map symbols (in accordance to our purpose) from every historical map and creating a point vector layer. Each extracted element was associated with the following attributes: toponym or map symbol, the map on which it was found, meaning, and obvious mistakes in toponym transcription. The extraction of the items of interest in digital environment helped us eliminate the errors that might have appeared in classical mapping (accidental overlapping of the data that would have led to the duplication of information and the distortion of our investigation results).

d) analyzing the extracted toponyms and map symbols in order to indentify the old occupations;

e) developing thematic cartographic representations, knowing that toponymic maps are documents for heritage preservation[27]. Furthermore, "by collecting several names and by putting them on a map, the detail errors are balanced, resulting a truthfull general sketch", which can "suggest new relationships that are not obvious if one considers an individual name"[28].

The toponyms extracted from the maps were analyzed by comparative-historical method, in order to ascertain their temporal dynamics (evolution, potential transcription errors), by geographical method (to understand the geographical distribution of the old occupations), and by statistical method (so that to determine their percentage distribution, depending on the occupations which they attest). The same methods were also used for analyzing the correlated toponyms, which do not point directly to an occupation, but definitely suggest it, as for instance *Valea Olăriei* [The Pottery Valley], which obviously derived its name from the respective craft (pottery making). This study was not intended to undertake a linguistic analysis; therefore, we did not make use of the linguistic criteria for toponym classification. The same methods were also applied for the

[26] Aversano 2007; Osaci-Costache 2010a, 2010b.

[27] Oancea 1984: 35–40.

[28] Vâlsan 1938: 20–30.

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analysis of the map symbols that suggest the existence of certain trades and occupations: mills (implying the existence of millers), sheepfolds (suggesting shepherds), inns (suggesting innkeepers), etc.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Toponyms refering to old trades and occupations can be found even on the oldest available large-scale map of the Muşcelele Argeşului area (Specht's map): Burluşi (*Burlusch*, 1791), Blidari (*Blidar*, 1791), Valea Faurului (*Fauru*, 1791), Nămăeşti (*Nimojest*, 1791).

Of the 913 place names extracted from the maps and useful to reconstruct the history of the Muşcelele Argeşului area, 352 (38.55%) mirror directly or suggest old occupations, thus allowing the reconstruction of the ethnographic landscapes of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. The research was completed with the help of 2160 map symbols suggesting various occupations: mill, sheepfold, inn, sawmill, pontoon ferry, lime burner, brick kiln, etc. Consequently, this study based on cartographic information has highlighted the following: (a) traditional occupations suggested by the presence of particular map symbols; (b) traditional occupations mirrored directly by toponyms (which specify the occupation); and (c) traditional occupations suggested by toponyms (which refer to workshops, final products, raw materials, etc.).

Because the place names that define each category are very numerous we will support our approach by mentioning only a few of them.

4.1. Occupations connected to agricultural activities

Due to the agro-pastoral character of the Muşcelele Argeşului area, traditional agricultural activities have always been prevailing (60% of the land is still used for agricultural purposes), which explains the abundance of related terms in local toponymy. The cartographic documents of the late 20th century show that large areas of pastures and hayfields replaced the forests of the late 18th century. Besides, many specific shelters for people and animals came into existence (dwellings, sheepfolds, rooms, folds, closures, stables), all of them dominantly defining a pastoral landscape. In their turn, the symbols found on the investigated historical maps also emphasize the activities connected to the exploitation of pastures and hayfields (plus orchards and cultivated lands).

The diachronic comparison of the cartographic documents has shown that forest has been the most dynamic environmental component of the Muşcelele Argeşului area; it has shrunk as a result of anthropogenic activities from about 55% in 1791 to approximately 36% in 1980[29]. More than a quarter of the toponyms collected from the maps remind the deforestation processes and overlap the former

[29] Osaci-Costache 2004: 107.

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woods[30], but they seldom point directly at wood processing, which might prove that deforestations were an agricultural practice aimed at reclaiming new territories for crop growing. Moreover, a number of studies have shown that in the past the clearings were done with this purpose in mind, because „in the absence of an income generating activity, the forest was valued only to the extent it provided firewood and construction materials for fences and wooden buildings"[31].

Agricultural occupations are well mirrored by the local toponymy (271 place names, i.e. 77% of the total number of toponyms refering to various occupations), but these occupations are not directly expressed in toponymy, except for stock breeding. However, some plants grown in the past and some old agricultural practices, forgotten today, have been preserved only in toponymy[32], suggesting the agricultural activities of the inhabitants.

Thus, there are place names that remind or suggest textile plants (*Poiana Inului* [Flax Glade] in Tigveni) or crops (*Vadu Meiului* [Millet Ford] in Corbi) cultivated both in the past centuries and today. Other such toponyms are *Mălăişte* (cornfield) in Aninoasa, *În Mălăişte* (a place in Aninoasa village belonging to the commune bearing the same name) and *Măzărişte* (land planted with peas; places and hills with this name are found in Poienarii de Muşcel, Valea Danului and Şuici). The name of *Vărzăroaia* village (Pietroşani commune) is related to cabbage (*varză*) cultivation. Toponyms like *Valea Ogoarelor* [Fields Valley] (Muşăteşti) or *La Arii* (grains threshing place; Brăduleţ village) are in their turn an evidence of agricultural occupations.

The toponyms *Prosia* (village and hayfields, Muşăteşti commune) and *În Prosia* (hayfields in Galeşu and Brăduleţ villages, both belonging to Brăduleţ commune) seem to derive from the Bulgarian term *prosia* (millet), *proso* meaning a millet field[33]. Other experts, however, claim that they denote an old agricultural practice: after the forest was cut down, "the next year the place was plowed and sown, i.e. *in prosie*". The harvest was poor, because the land was already depleated[34].

Other place names, even though do not define the occupations of farmer, gardener, etc., obviously suggest them, as can be infered from the name of the places where vegetables or fruit trees were grown: *La Grădină* [At the Garden] (place in Bărăşti village, Cicăneşti commune), *În Grădini* [In the Gardens] (place in Urluieşti village, Cepari commune), *Valea Grădinii* [Garden's Valley] (Nucşoara village).

A number of 49 toponyms (14% of the total) derive from the fruit trees grown either isolated or in orchards, which were used by the locals as guidance landmarks: *La Mărul Dulce* [At the Sweet Apple Tree] (in Boteni), *La Vişini*

[30] Osaci-Costache 2010a: 194.
[31] Stănciulescu–Stănciulescu 2006: 81.
[32] Osaci-Costache 2010a: 196.
[33] Moise 1992: 15.
[34] Stahl–Stahl 1968: 25.

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[At the Sour Cherry Trees] (in Corbeni commune), *Livezile Mari* [The Large Orchards] (a brook in Cicăneşti commune, etc.). Although the maps testify the existence of orchards in the past centuries, an increase of the areas planted with fruit trees can be noticed on the topographic map relying on the survey measurements undertaken between 1951 and 1958. The explanation lies in the development of the intensive socialist orchards[35], which replaced large areas of pastures and hayfields, altering the agricultural character of the region.

Many of the vineyards shown on maps at the end of the eighteenth century (on the interfluve between the Olt and Topolog rivers and on the left slopes of the Topolog) have dissapeared. However, their existence in the past is certified by several place names: *Dealul Viilor* [Vineyards Hill] (in Cepari, Tigveni; Giurgiuveni, Vătăşeşti, Berislăveşti), *La Faţa Viei* [At the Vineyard Front] (in Runcu), *Coasta Viişoarei* [Young Vineyard Scarp] (a hill in Ciofrângeni), *Dealul Viile Bătrâne* [Old Vineyards Hill] (in Jiblea Veche), etc.[36]. Such toponyms seem meningless today, because the lands have acquired another use, but the presence of vineyards until the beginning of the twentieth century proves that "the Romanians have strived to cultivate vine, for securing at least their personal needs"[37]. The brandy distilled from fermented plums (called *ţuică* in the study area) was obtained by using rudimentary equipments called *poverne* [distillation vessels] (whence *Pârâul Povernei* [Distillery Brook], in Sălătrucu).

The maps of the period 1864–1958 certify the pastoral character of the Muşcelele Argeşului area, as the pastures and hayfields had a large extension, mainlybecause of the clearings undertaken between 1791 and 1864. The deforestations affected the areas where stock breeding was a traditional occupation, as was the case of the Arefu, Jiblea and Câmpulung depressions[38].

The symbols used for the various structures meant to support livestock farming, as well as the mapping of the pastures and hayfields, also highlight the stock breeding as a traditional occupation in the Muşcelele Argeşului. There are some toponyms that make direct reference to the existence of this occupation, as for instance *Păcuraru* [Shepherd] (hill between the Râul Doamnei and Bratia rivers; on the Szathmary's Map of 1864 it occurs as *Verfu Pecuraiului* [Shepherd's Peak]).[39]

Stock breeding is also suggested by the place names that mention domesticated animals: *Valea Boului* [Ox Valley] (Aninoasa), *Burluşi* (a village in Ciofrângeni commune; the term derives from the regional word *burluci* [herds][40]), which appears on the Specht's Map as *Burlusch*, transcribed so by the Austrian officers who prepared the map, *Valea Vacii* [Cow's Valley] (in Muşăteşti,

[35] Bold–Lazăr–Nicolae 1960: 48–54.
[36] Osaci-Costache 2004: 239; 2009: 220.
[37] Iordache 1986/I: 258–259.
[38] Osaci-Costache 2004: 213.
[39] Osaci-Costache 2004: 249.
[40] Moise–Ţibrian–Bănică 2000: 95.

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Hârtieşti, Berevoeşti communes), *Văcăria* and *Văcăriile* (places in Ciofrângeni commune; *văcărie* – cow herd in Wallachia[41]), *Valea Văcăriei* [Cow Herd Valley] (in Cicăneşti and Goleşti communes), *Nămăeşti* (a village in the Valea Mare-Pravăţ, which appears as *Nimojest* on the Specht's Map of 1791; the term stems from the regional word *nămaie,* meaning sheep[42]).

Other toponyms derived from activities, objects, products, and traditional constructions related to animal husbandry do not refer directly to the occupation, but rather suggest it: *Valea Fânurile* [Hay Valley] (in Corbi), *Poiana de la Stână* [The Glade at the Sheepfold] (in Brăduleţ commune), *Valea Căşăriei* (in Aninoasa commune; *căşărie* – section of the sheepfold where green cheese was dried and stored[43]), *Dealul Staule* [Stable Hill] (in Sălătrucu), *Poiana Oborul Oancei* [Oancea's Closure Glade] (in Cândeşti; *obor* or *staul* – closure where animals are kept during the night[44]), *Dealul Comarnic* (in Ciofrângeni; *comarnic* – shelter under which the sheep are milked[45]), *La Covergi* (in Şuici; *covergi* – regional term refering to branch shelters), *Plaiul Strunga* (in Nucşoara; *strungă* – narrow passage within a sheepfold, covered or not[46]). We deem it possible that the toponym „*strungă*" might suggest in natural landscape a corridor resembling the narrow passage at the sheepfold. Besides, the place names of this kind suggest the wide circulation of this term in the entire area of Muşcelele Argeşului.

Some toponyms that might have indicated old occupations have dissapeared, as for instance *Odaia Groşa*, which appears on the Russian map (today the Bratia village), but the old cartographic documents have preserved them all. Altogether, there are 138 toponyms related to stock breeding (39% of the place names related to various occupations).

The map analysis shows that traditional constructions – sheepfolds, dwellings, stables, etc. (Fig. 3) – were placed, and still are, in the vicinity of the village (demonstrating the practice of the so-called local or agricultural grazing, in which animals spent the winter inside the constructions lying in the village core[47]). However, pastoral activities were also carried out at a greater distance, on the mountain slopes in the northern part of the study area, which proves the practice of transhumant shepherding, in which animals grazed the nearby mountain pastures in summertime[48]. The importance of animal husbandry for the local residents also results from the number in which these traditional constructions occur on the maps of the past two centuries (2007 map symbols, i.e. 93% of the total), especially in the depressions lying at the foot of the mountains (Fig. 3).

[41] Iordache 1986/II: 44.
[42] Moise–Ţibrian–Bănică 2000: 43.
[43] Iordache 1986/II: 77.
[44] Iordache 1986/II: 45, 50–51.
[45] Iordache 1986/II: 65–66.
[46] Iordache 1986/II: 65.
[47] Vlăduţiu 1973: 253; Iordache 1986/II: 13.
[48] Iordache 1986/II: 15–16.

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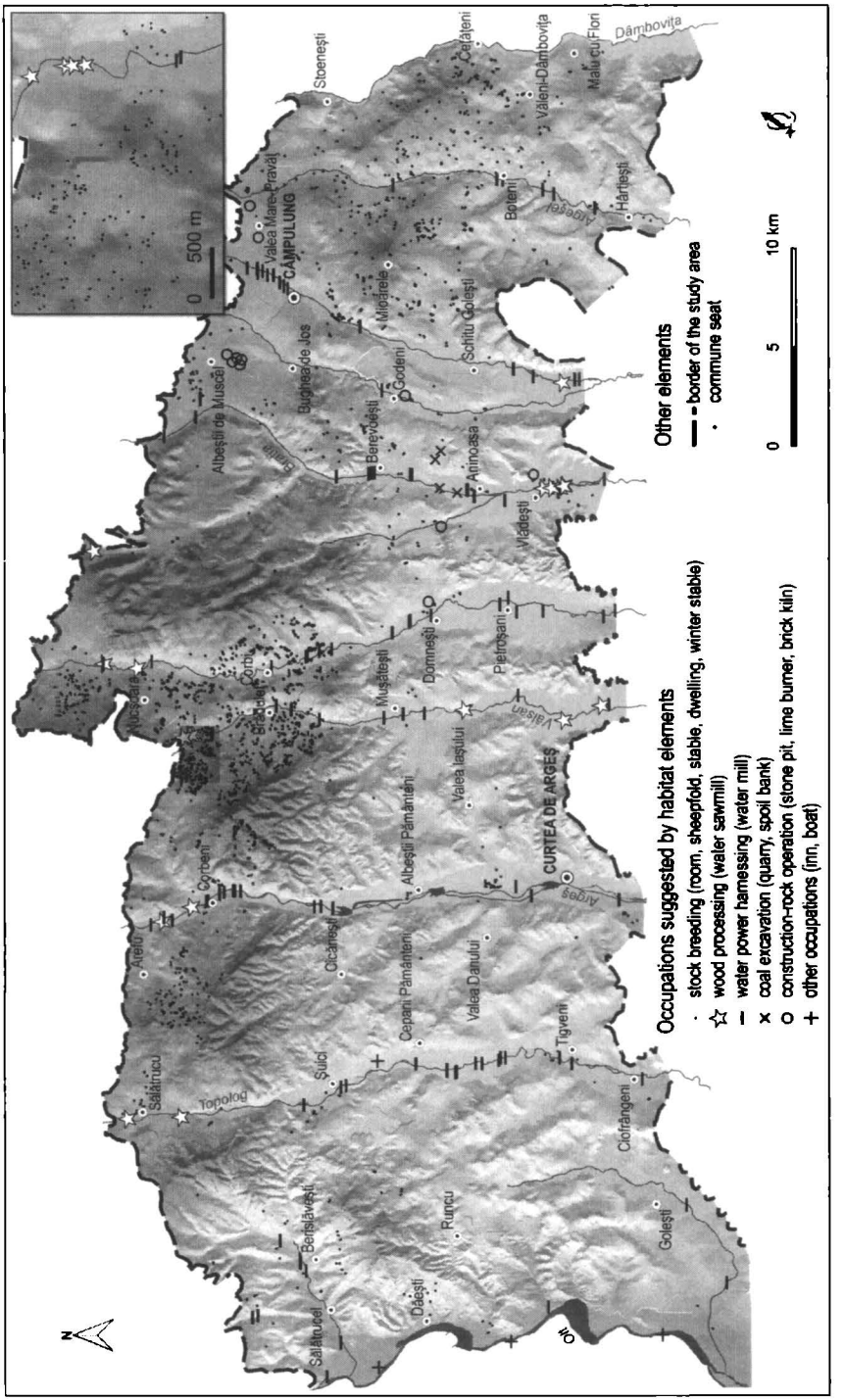

Fig. 3 – Old occupations shown by map symbols
(map prepared by Gabriela Osaci-Costache based on the maps for the period 1790–1997).

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Equally interesting are the place names that are reminiscent of the old shepherds' practices, as for instance *Mutătoarea* [The Movable Sheepfold] (in Oeştii Ungureni, Corbeni village). This recalls a practice of the *ungureni* people (Romanians from Transylvania), who practiced transhumance shepherding and who settled later to the south of the Carpathians, setting up pair villages (like for instance Albeştii *Ungureni*, which was located near the natives' settlement, called since then Albeştii *Pământeni*). These shepherds who roamed the entire Muşcelele Argeşului area used to change the place where they grazed and milked their sheep: "when the grass was eaten up they made the second, even the third shifting (*mutătoare)*"[49], because after a while "the accumulated and trampled manure spoiled the earth"[50].

Some maps also display a part of the old transhumance routes, called sheep paths, which "are marked here and there with big stone crosses"[51]. It is the case of *Plaiul Oilor* [The Sheeps' Rounded Ridge], following the Argeş – Topolog interfluve (on Szathmary's Map, 1864) and *Plaiul Oii* [The Sheep's Rounded Ridge] (*plai* – long interfluve with low gradient), following the Vâlsan – Râul Doamnei interfluve. In the past, transhumance paths formed a real network between Spain and the Carpathians[52] and they preserved their economic importance until the modern age[53]. The rehabilitation and capitalization of a part of this network is a topical issue for Europe[54].

There is evedence that in the past part of the products obtained in the area were marketed. For instance, from the 14th to the 18th centuries the cheese products obtained in the mountain sheepfolds belonging to the Arefu's residents "were brought to the green cheese selling unit in Căpăţâneni, where they were sold with good profit and the incomes were distributed to the locals according to the share they had in the mountains"[55].

Beekeeping is an ancient occupation, which is mirrored in toponymy both by terms that are familiar to present-day inhabitants (*Stupiniţa* [The Tiny Apiary", a place in the Valea Iaşului, or *Valea Stupinei* [Bee Yard Valley], in Aninoasa and Brăduleţ) and by place names that either do not make sense anymore (derived from *ştubeu*, which means a primitive beehive: *La Ştubeu* [At the Beehive] (in Tigveni), *Pe la Ştubei* [By the Beehives] (in Şuici) or have totally changed their meaning (*Valea Uleiului* [Oil Valley], in Valea Iaşului commune). The word *ulei* presently means oil, but in the past this regional term designated a primitive beehive (*ştiubei*

[49] Popp 1933: 246.
[50] Stahl–Stahl 1968: 21.
[51] Stahl–Stahl 1969: 21.
[52] Sarno 2014: 53.
[53] Rombai 2002.
[54] European Commission (*Preserving our heritage, improving our environment*, Directorate-General for Research Environment) 2009, *apud* Sarno 2014: 53.
[55] Stănciulescu–Stănciulescu 2006: 80.

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or *ştubeu*) made of hollow tree trunks or bark[56]. Some place names that have lost their initial meaning can be misleading. It is the case of *Dealul Prisaca* in Aninoasa commune or *Dealul Priseaca* in Goleşti commune, which make us think of beekeeping, because today *prisacă* designates an apiary. According to some authors[57], *priseacă* suggests deforestations, but other researchers believe the term means a place for beekeeping[58], a recently deforested area where the cutten tree trunks serve as beehives[59] or a place with "hollow stumps turned into wooden beehives"[60].

4.2. Trades and occupations related to non-agricultural activities

Some occupations have survived until today due to the local folk artisans, while others have disappeared, being preserved only by toponymy and historical documents. The investigated maps suggest to a lesser extent the presence of the home occupations related to the processing of wool, flax, etc., although in the past most traditional activities carried out in the countryside were based in the people's households, because "every house was a small workshop of cottage industry"[61]. As a result, many crafts (connected to food production, textile activities, etc.) were missing from the village because there was no outlet for them. The cottage industry has preserved a part of the traditional crafts even during the twentieth century[62], and the maps can help us retrieve them after a few hundred years.

4.2.1. Old non-agricultural occupations

In the past, the raw materials of which "body clothing and home textiles" were produced within the village: hemp, linen, wool and animal skins[63]. A number of toponyms found on the maps refer to the processing of textile plants (*La Topliţa*, a place in Corbi commune; *topliţa* or *topila* was a stagnant water pit for hemp rotting[64]), which was women job. The information we collected from local people reveals that in Bucşeneşti village (Corbeni commune), for instance, flax and hemp were grown until around the mid twentieth century and were processed in each household in order to get various fabrics for clothing and other purposes (napkins, towels, linens, etc.). Actually, in the study area, the beautiful folk costumes from Argeş and Muşcel have been gradually replaced by the „cosmopolitan costumes" introduced during the communist regime[65].

[56] Iordache 1986/II: 190.
[57] Iordan 1952: 8; Graur 1972: 50.
[58] Breban 1987: 828.
[59] Moise 1992: 51.
[60] Vlăduţiu1973: 145.
[61] Stănciulescu–Stănciulescu 2006: 80.
[62] Stahl–Stahl 1968: 64.
[63] Stănciulescu–Stănciulescu 2006: 82.
[64] Vlăduţiu 1973: 326.
[65] Stănciulescu–Stănciulescu 2006: 84–85.

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Some evidence indicates that part of the non-agricultural products left after the family needs were met was sold or exchanged (for instance, part of the shakes and wood planks produced in Arefu village was sold or „exchanged for winter corn"[66]). However, the presence of several crafts points at an urban-type economy[67]. The occurrence of new crafts in the urban environment (in comparison with the countryside) was determined by the townspeople demand, who no longer produced bread in the house or sacrificed the animals in their own households (to refer only to baker and butcher), thus generating "a significant number of buyers with urban-type food consumption"[68]. For instance, historical documents record the presence of three bakers in Curtea de Argeş in 1810[69] and of several butcher shops (called "tree stump butcher's blocks") in Câmpulung, as early as 1672[70]. Also in Câmpulung, prior to the eighteenth century, ten occupations were known[71], to which might be added the merchants[72] and the millers[73]. In 1855–1856, the area counted 19 mills, 7 fulling mills, 8 stamp mills, 24 potteries, 5 distilleries, 4 woodworkers, 24 carpenters and millers, 17 shoemakers, 21 masons and 44 smiths[74]. In the same period, in Nucşoara *plai* (old rural administrative unit in the mountain areas, a county subdivision having the same rank as the present communes) there were 21 mills, 46 saws, 6 fulling mills, 5 stamp mills, 22 distilleries, 3 woodworkers, 29 carpenters and millers, 1 shoemaker and 7 smiths[75]. This information coming from historical documents can be completed with data extracted from maps so that to retrace the old ethnographic landscape.

Wood processing (a male ocupation) is suggested both by the map symbols (sawmills) and by the place names derived from the occupations: *Valea Dogarilor* [Coopers Valley] in Berislăveşti (*dogar* – artisan that makes staves or stave vessels), *Valea Rotarilor* [Wheelwrights Valley] in Sălătrucu (*rotar*– wheels and carts maker), *Şelari* [Saddlers], in Valea Mare-Pravăţ (*şelar* – manufacturer of wooden saddles), *Podul Ciurarului* [Sieve Maker Flatlands], in Aninoasa (Fig. 4). Other place names suggest the existence of the craft by mentioning the workshop, for instance *Poiana Dogăriei* [Cooperage Glade] and *Crucea Dogăriei* [Cooperage Cross], in Albeştii de Muşcel, or *Dealul Ploscăriei* [Wooden Flask Hill], in Berislăveşti. The custom of walking with the wooden flask through the village to invite people to the wedding feast has dissapeared in some settlements for about 100 years (in Arefu); however, in the settlements where food and drink is also

[66] Stănciulescu–Stănciulescu 2006: 81.
[67] Câlţia 2011: 347.
[68] Câlţia 2011: 324.
[69] Olteanu–Şerban 1969: 353.
[70] Aricescu 2007: 145.
[71] Olteanu–Şerban 1969, *apud* Câlţia 2011: 367.
[72] Răuţescu 1943: 182.
[73] Iorga 1901: 301.
[74] Aricescu 2007: 278.
[75] Aricescu 2007: 281.

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offered the day after the wedding, the tradition has been preserved[76]. In other villages (for instance Cepari, Bucşeneşti, Corbeni, Albeştii Pământeni, Poienărei, Corbi, Nucşoara, Sboghiţeşti, Slatina, Bughea de Sus), the old custom that requires the groom to invite the guests for the feast by walkin with the wooden flask filled with plum brandy from house to house is still alive. Other toponyms suggest the existence of the craft by mentioning the workshop: for instance, Jugur, village belonging to the Poienarii de Muşcel commune (*Zugur* on the Specht's Map, 1791), seems to derive its name from *jug* [yoke][77].

Szathmary's Map shows one sawmill at Curtea de Argeş, on the Argeş River, but the number of sawmills gradually grew. Consequently, on the topographic maps of the early twentieth century their number becomes significant (11 sawmills located as follows: three at Brădetu and two at Sboghiţeşti, on the Râul Doamnei; one at Stroeşti, on the Vâlsan River; and five at Vlădeştii de Jos, on the Bratia[78]. The topographic maps of the mid twentieth century attest the existence of eight water sawmills: two on the Topolog, at Sălătrucu, one on the Vâlsan, at Brădetu, two on the Râul Doamnei (of which one, maintained since 1900, at Sboghiţeşti, and the other at Slatina), one on the Râul Târgului, at Lăzăreşti, one on the Argeşel, south of Boteni village, and one sawmill on the Coisca, at Stoeneşti[79].

Another craft widely spread in the past, but less frequent today and practised only by the local folk artisans, is pottery. Although it was a men's craft, "only in a single place in the whole country, namely in Muşcel, women used to work on the potter's wheel, too"[80]. Some of the toponyms collected from the maps may be helpful in retracing this ancient craft, frequently encountered in the Romanian villages, some of them having "dozens of potters"[81]. We can mention here *Dealul Olarului* [Bowl Maker's Hill], in Muşăteşti, *Valea Olăriei* [Pottery Valley], in Dăeşti, and *Bolculeşti*, a village in the Valea Danului commune (derived from *boalcă* – clay pot[82]). The toponyms also mention the dish maker (who makes clay dishes of which one can eat, also called *străchini*): *Blidari* [Dish Makers], a village that on the Specht's Map (1791) appears as *Blidar* [Dish Maker].

The maps provide toponymic evidence for: blacksmith (*La Fierar* [At the Blacksmith], a brook in Sălătrucel; *Valea Faurului* [Faber Valley], a village in Muşăteşti commune, which appears on the Specht's Map as *Fauru*; *faur* – folk term for blacksmith), brickmaker (*Cărămizi* [Bricks], a village belonging to the Cicăneşti commune, which appeared for the last time on maps in 1956[83]), limeburner (*Valea Varniţei* [Limeburner Valley] in Corbeni and Glodeni; on the maps

[76] Stănciulescu–Stănciulescu 2006: 193.
[77] Moise 1992: 56.
[78] Osaci-Costache 2004: 224.
[79] Osaci-Costache 2004: 224.
[80] Stahl–Stahl 1968: 73.
[81] Stahl–Stahl 1968: 73.
[82] Moise–Ţibrian–Bănică 2000: 39.
[83] Osaci-Costache 2004: 246.

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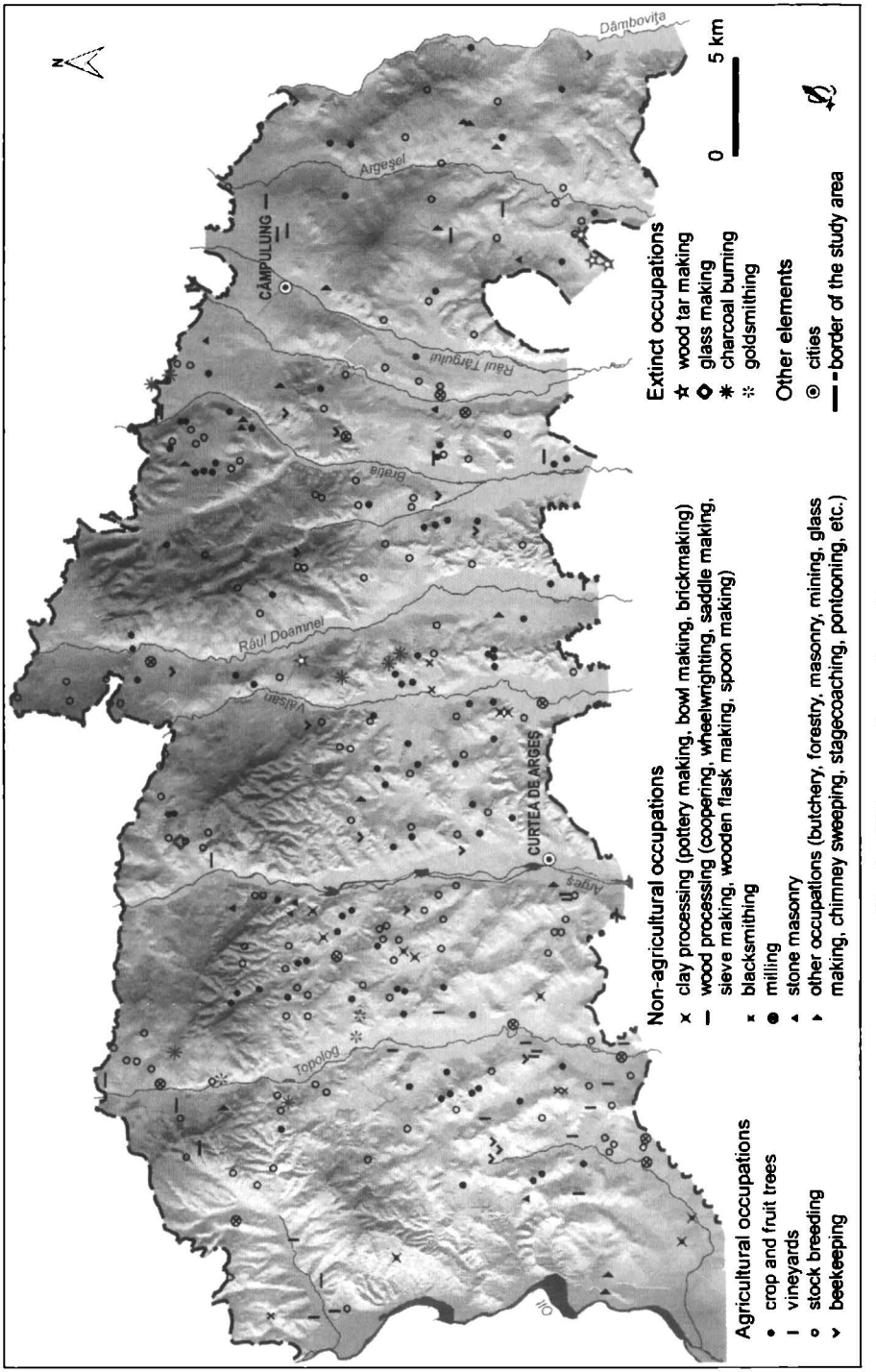

Fig. 4 – Old occupations mirrored by toponymy
(map prepared by Gabriela Osaci-Costache based on the maps for the period 1790–1997).

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of 1980 the symbol for lime burner also appears at Domneşti, Capul Piscului, Valea Siliştii and Godeni).

Starting with the topographic map in Lambert Projection, the maps provide toponymic evidence for the presence of other occupations: *Valea Măcelarului* [Butcher's Valley] and *Piscul Măcelarului* [Butcher's Peak], in Albeştii de Muşcel, *Valea Poştaşului* [Stagecoach Employee's Valley], in Bughea de Jos, *Pârâul Pădurarului* [Forester's Brook], in Aninoasa and *Valea Coşarului* [Chimney Sweeper's Valley], in Cândeşti.

Historical documents had testified the presence of water mills (and implicitly of milling) before the large-scale maps became available for the study area (for instance, through a document of August 12, 1638, by which was settled the dispute between Neagoe, the Corbeni chancellor, and Vucmir, the cupbearer, over a mill ditch in Corbeni[84]). But the precise location of these places is given only by the maps. Between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, the number of water mills varied as follows: from 34 on the Specht's Map (1791), to 12 on the Szathmary's Map (1864), then to 124 around the year 1900 and to 14 on the topographic map of 1956. After that moment, water mills have dissapeared from the maps[85]. The toponyms extracted from the cartographic representations, even though do not name directly the miller, are very suggestive: *Valea Morii* [Mill Valley], in Nucşoara and Godeni, *Moara Eforiei*, in Ciofrângeni (*eforie* is an archaic term designating an administative and sociocultural authority of public interest that existed in the past; on the topographic map in Lambert Projection it is marked by a symbol), *Valea Calea Morii* [Mill Road Valley], in Godeni, *Zăvoiul Morii* [Mill's Spinney], in Muşăteşti, etc.

Although the innkeeper is not present in the toponymy of the Muşcelele Argeşului area, historical maps record the presence of inns (called *ospătării* on the Szatmary's Map). On Specht's Map (1791), along the important roads (on the Olt, north of Fedeleşoiu and on the Topolog, between Şuici and Rudeni) occurs the symbol of a house accompanied by the abbreviation „Wrt. H." or „W. H", which in German might have the meaning of „Wirtschaftshaus" or „Wirsthaus", i.e. an inn[86]. The Szatmary's Map (1864) shows an *ospătărie* [hostelry], where later came into being the „Satu Nou" settlement (shown on the topographic map of 1916), which in its turn became subsequently Jiblea Nouă[87]. We may assume that in the vicinity of the inns were also farrier workshops, which should have also existed near the old stagecoach stops, where horses were changed. Specht's Map records two stagecoach stops: one at Sălătrucu and the other (marked through a map symbol) near Curtea de Argeş, where the Szatmary's Map shows *Mahalaua Poşta* [Slum of

[84] Arhivele Olteniei 1934: 125.
[85] Osaci-Costache 2004: 215–216.
[86] Osaci-Costache 2002; 2004: 226; 2010c: 150.
[87] Osaci-Costache 2004: 248.

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Stagecoach Stop][88], which has developed into a neighborhood of the city, known as the Stagecoach Stop.

For the Muşcelele Argeşului area, the Specht's Map records a place, south of Râmnicu Vâlcea City, where the Olt River could be crossed by boat. Pontoon ferry crossings appear on Szatmary's Map (1864) at Sânbotin and Fedeleşoiu, on the 3rd Military Mapping Survey of Austria-Hungary (around 1910) at Fedeleşoiu, Sânbotin and Râureni and, more recently, on the topographic map in Lambert projection, at Fedeleşoiu[89].

The Albeşti village (Albeştii de Muşcel commune) has remained to this day a rural masonry center[90] and historical maps testify the presence of stone quarries in *Dealul Pietrelor* [Stones Hill].

Mining activities, which are related to lignite exploitation (after 1897) in the Boteni-Aninoasa-Poienarii de Muşcel area, are testified both by the map symbols used on the maps (mines, mine dumps and even a mining stamp mill on the topographic maps of the early eighteenth century[91]) and by the toponyms (*Valea Cărbunelui* [Coal Valley], *Boteni*).

4.2.2. Extinct occupations

The appearance and disappearance of some occupations was influenced by land ownership, as traditional activities were closely related to the environment and the exploitation of natural resources. For instance, as soon as the Arefu residents regained possession of the forest (in 1882) they started to practice woodwork, producing shakes of fir and spruce, as well as beech wood planks. This occupation "was not profitable, but it was necessary"[92]. Although woodwork was the second occupation of the Arefu residents (after the stock breeding), it "completely ceased to be an occupation and a means for ensuring the basic needs" immediately after the forest was nationalized[93].

On the analyzed maps, the extinct occupations are explicitly mentioned by the toponyms, but their real meaning is not currently understood by the locals. It is the case of *dohotar* [wood tar maker], *glăjer* or *glăjar* [flasher/glass blower] and *cărbunar* [charcoal burner]; wood tar making and charcoal burning are mentioned as traditional occupations[94]. The most interesting toponym in this category is *La Datorie* (a scarp in Poienărei village, Corbi commune), which at present can be understood as "on debt" or "the place where someone entered into debt with someone else", although the toponym derives from *dohotărie – dotărie – dătorie*

[88] Osaci-Costache 2010c: 149.
[89] Osaci-Costache 2010c: 152.
[90] Vlăduţiu 1973: 321.
[91] Osaci-Costache 2004: 214.
[92] Stănciulescu–Stănciulescu 2006: 81.
[93] Stănciulescu–Stănciulescu 2006: 81.
[94] Nicolae–Suditu 2008: 155.

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(the place where *dohot* is made[95]). *Dohotarul* [the wood tar maker], produced a "birch tar for oiling peasant boots and carts' axles" called *dohot* [wood tar][96]. Because the craft was infrequent, "*dohotarii* [the wood tar makers] were not organized in guilds, did not pay taxes and therefore were missing from documents"[97]. From this point of view, the maps are very useful, as they vouch for this old and forgotten occupation. The use of birch tree bark for this purpose is testified by a number of place names such as *Pârâul Scorţarului* [The Brook of the Bark Processor] (Aninoasa) or *În Scorţaru* [At the Bark Processor] (Mihăeşti).

The toponym *În Glăjerie* [At the Glassworks] (a place in Berindeşti village, Corbeni commune), which means glass manufacture[98] seems today meaningless, but it comes from *glajă* (from the German *glas*, meaning glass) of which derived the craft of *glăjar* or *glăjer* [flasher/glasswright]. The term, which is common for Transylvania and Moldavia, was identified in Muşcelele Argeşului by Osaci-Costache[99], who thinks it is also related to charcoal production. In this area, there are several toponyms giving evidence in favor of this occupation, as for instance *Poiana Cărbunelui* [Charcoal Glade] (Şuici), *Dealul Cărbunari* [Charcoal Burner Hill] (Sălătrucu), and *La Cărbunaru* [At the Charcoal Burner] (a forest in Cetăţeni commune). However, with the advent of manufacture production glass furnaces disappeared[100] and new toponyms came into existence (e.g., *Sticlăria* [Glass Workshop] village, which appears on the maps prepared between 1900 and 1956; at present, this settlement is administratively included in Goranu, which belongs to Râmnicu Vâlcea City[101]).

Some place names may currently have other meanings than in the past centuries; however, they continue to refer to extinct occupations. It is the case of *rudari*, Roma artisans known for the wooden household items they made: "spindles were generally produced, and still are, by *rudari*, who sell them in the villages or at fairs"[102]. From them derive toponyms like *Valea Rudarilor* [Rudarilor Valley] (Câmpulung) and *Pârâul Rudarului* [Rudarului Brook] (Valea Danului commune). However, "*rudar* also means a Gypsy goldsmith (not only a wooden spoon maker), which brings us closer to the meaning of the word *rudă*"[103] encountered in Transylvania and denoting frequently a mine[104]. More precisely, it refers to the pits dug along the rivers, in which the locals were searching for gold. However, the toponyms derived from the appelative *rudă*, in the south of the country, outside the metallogenetic areas, refer to wood processing[105]. For the study area, a document of

[95] Moise 1992: 37.
[96] Scriban 1939, *apud* Moise 1992: 37.
[97] Moise 1992: 37.
[98] Nicolae–Suditu 2008: 155.
[99] Osaci-Costache 2001: 148.
[100] Nicolae–Suditu 2008: 155.
[101] Osaci-Costache 2004: 246.
[102] Vlăduţiu 1973: 328.
[103] Nicolae–Suditu 2008: 160.
[104] Iordan 1963: 99.
[105] Nicolae–Suditu 2008: 160.

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1620 entitled Cozia Monastery to master several dwellings of Roma goldsmiths who were extracting gold on the banks of the Olt River[106]. The initial meaning of the word *rudă* has been lost (as well as the occupation of *rudar*) and nowadays the *rudari* are known in Muşcelele Argeşului area as an ethnic group who produce wooden household items (troughs, spindles, spoons, etc.).

CONCLUSIONS

Every historical map shows a different number of place names and symbols that can help us identify the old occupations. Knowing thoroughly the study area, we may appreciate that not all the toponyms are shown by the historical or the present-day maps (mainly because of the cartographic generalizations and omissions), although many of them are still in use (old neighborhoods like *Curelari* [Bridle Makers], in Câmpulung). The most valuable are the maps of the first half of the twentieth century (especially the topographic map in Lambert Projection, which is the richest in toponyms and map symbols). The subsequent maps also include toponyms imposed by the communist regime that replaced the natural/folk place names, as for instance: Valea Povernei (1900) became Valea Bădilei (1980); Valea Priseaca in the Aninoasa commune (1900) became Valea Porcarului (1980); and Plaiul Ogoarelor (1900) became Dealul Gruiului (1980).

Based on the frequency of toponym occurrence refering to a particular occupation one can establish the specific local occupations. The "revealing" of the old occupations and crafts and especially their spatial location, beyond the historical and ethnographic contribution, might also have an educational and even a tourist value, provided that tourist routes will be established in the area. These could include traditional installations (fulling mills, water mills, distilleries, etc.), tools (for haymaking, for working the land, etc.) and structures or improvements for various pastoral activities (sheepfolds, rooms, dwellings, etc.), the last ones being nowadays very frequent in the area.

From the diachronic analysis undertaken, we discovered that large-scale historical maps show the relationship of the residents with their environment, as the old occupations take advantage of the natural resources (above and below the ground). By overlapping the maps in GIS environment, we expanded the evidence of the fact that folk place names derive from the exploitaion of these resources via the old trades and occupations.

The cartographic method proposed in this research can be used to study the cultural landscape of the whole country, as it gives evidence of the value of historical cartography for the ethnographic understanding of a territory. It provides information of the past centuries and in some instances is the only witness of the existence of a specific occupation in a particular territory.

[106] Şerban 1959: 141.

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PASTORAL LANDSCAPE IN THE RUCĂR-BRAN CORRIDOR: SHEEPFOLD DYNAMICS

LUCIAN DAVID

ABSTRACT

The phytogeographical resources that have supported the development of pastoral landscape are pastures, natural hayfields, and more recently, the cultivated fodder plants. The favorable natural setting, the varied topography, the soil cover, the richness of vegetal species, the well-developed river system etc., correlated with the existence of extensive pastures and hayfields have encouraged the development in the Rucăr-Bran Corridor of a pastoral civilization, which is well known both at home and abroad. The map analysis provides the opportunity of identifying the sheepfold alterations with respect to location, altitude, slope aspect etc., over the period 1911–2014.

Keywords: Rucăr-Bran corridor, natural landscape, pastoral landscape, sheepfold, topographic map.

NATURAL SETTING

Romania has the largest area of pastures and hayfields in Europe (2,000,000 ha)[1], most of these grasslands being ecological. The Rucăr-Bran Corridor is located in the middle of both Romania and the Carpathian Highlands, an old cultural hearth, where animal husbandry has been practiced and transmitted throughout generations. At the beginning of the 20th century the great geographer G. Vâlsan stated: "The Romanian Carpathians still preserve an incredibly developed pastoral life. Perhaps, no mountain range in Europe can be similar in this regard[2]".

Geographical location and limits. The Rucăr-Bran Corridor lies in the central part of the country, between latitudes 45°20' N and 45°30' N, and longitudes 25° E and 25°30' E. It belongs to the Bucegi–Piatra Craiului massif, a sub-unit of the Southern Carpathians, and generally stretches SW-NE. The topography is made up of rounded ridges and valley corridors, while the elevations range between 600 and

[1] *Ghid de valorificare a patrimoniului rural* 2005: 82.
[2] 2001: 410.

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1,600 meters[3]. The Corridor is bordered to the north by Ţara Bârsei, to the south by the Stoeneşti Depression, to the east by the Bucegi and Leaota massifs, and to the west by the Piatra Craiului mountain range and the Iezer-Păpuşa Mountains. As far as the eastern and western limits are concerned, these are extremely conspicuous, being highlighted by the impressive cliffs of the adjacent massifs, which tower by 500–800 m this intra-Carpathian depresionary corridor.

Geological background. Genetically speaking, the study area is a tectonic depression that came into existence through sinking during the Mesozoic orogenic phases, which were responsible for the uplift of the Bucegi and Piatra Craiului synclines, as well as for the Leaota anticline. The basement of the Corridor consists of hard crystalline rocks, roofed by sedimentary deposits accumulated during several sedimentation cycles. The first layer is prevailingly made up of calcareous formations (compact or stratified limestones, reef limestones, calcareous marls with insertations of sandstones and marls); it is followed by detritic formations, consisting especially of conglomerates and marls. A specific feature of the Corridor is the presence of isolated hillocks (calcareous outliers) called *gâlme.*

Terrain features. The landscape is unevenly developed in space, repeatable at Planetary level, but unrepeatable in terms of its characteristic aspects, having an originality of its own (the presence of a dominant element)[4]. This originality is given by the varied topography. Thus, one can distinguish the Dâmboviţa's Corridor in the south and the Bran Platform in the north, separated in the central section by the high plateau Giuvala-Fundata, which separates the Dâmboviţa's hydrographic basin from that of the Turcu River. The singularity of the Dâmboviţa's Corridor is given both by the big number of tectonic-erosive depressionary areas (Dâmbovicioara, Podu Dâmboviţei, Rucăr) and by the picturesque karstic topography. Fundata Platform, which corresponds to the upper level of the Bran Platform, displays hillocks (locally called "gâlme" or "dâlme") prevailingly made up of limestones. The Bran Platform, lying at an altitude between 800 and 1.300 m, dips on a main southwest-northeast direction, but also from the edge of the adjacent mountains to the central axis, which is represented by the *Drumul Carului* (Cart Road) interfluve. Although apparently the platform seems rather smooth, the here and there calcareous hillocks (*gâlme*) give the topography a touch of spectacular appearance, as they tower the lower areas by 50–100 m.

Climate conditions. By its specific features, the Rucăr-Bran depressionary corridor is included in the moderate mountain climate, since it suffers the influence of the high massifs belonging to the Southern Carpathians. The thermal regime is characterized by average annual values of 4–8°C, and the temperature decreases with elevation: 7.2°C at Rucăr and 4.4°C at Fundata. The average amounts of precipitation increase in direct relationship with hypsometry (altitude), from 810.9 mm at Rucăr to 1020.9 mm at Fundata. Of particular importance for the tourist flows and transhumance is the average duration of the snow cover. If in Rucăr and Bran

[3] Pătru-Stupariu 2011: 23.
[4] David 2010: 150.

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the number of days with snow cover varies between 120 and 140, in Fundata the snow lasts for 200 days[5].

River system. Within the Rucăr-Bran Corridor, the hydrographic network is very dense and the streams have tenaciously dissected the mountains, creating depressionary basins, as well as extremely spectacular gorges. The flowing waters are represented by the Dâmboviţa River, which drains the central and southern parts of the Corridor, and the Turcu River, which flows towards the Braşov Depression.

Vegetation. The varied topography, the elevations ranging from 600 m to about 1,600 m, the climate conditions and the soil cover are responsible both for the zoning of vegetation and for the great diversity of plant species. Thus, from bottom to top one can distinguish the broadleaf forests zone (beech – *Fagus silvatica*, hornbeam – *Carpinus betulus*, ash – *Fraxinus excelsior*, birch – *Betula verucosa* etc.), the mixed forests zone (beech and coniferous: spruce – *Picea abies*, fir – *Abies alba*), and the secondary grasslands. The secondary grasslands represent herbaceous plant associations, which cover large areas in the Rucăr-Bran Corridor, due to the long and intense pastoral life. Here, the vegetation cover consists of red fescue (*Festuca rubra*), alpine meadow grass (*Agrostis tenuis*), nard grass (*Nardus stricta*), meadow fescue (*Festuca pratens*), white clover (*Trifolium repens*) and other. Of the flowers that enliven the mountain pastures and hayfields are worth mentioning the violets (*Viola odorata*), the chicory (*Cichorium intybus*), the yellow bedstraws (*Galium verum*), the mulleins (*Verbascum thapsus*), and the snapdragon (*Antrirrhinum majus*)[6]. There are also endemic species of great scientific interest, of which the most important are *Dianthus callizonus*, which grows on the inaccessible benches of the Piatra Craiului Mts., red vanilla orchid (*Nigritella nigra*) and Carpathian Kotschy's alpenrose (*Rhododendron kotschyi*). This is one of the reasons for which two natural reserves have come into existence in this area, namely the Piatra Craiului National Park (Natura 2000) and the Bucegi National Park.

Soil cover. The soils in the Rucăr-Bran Corridor are included in the following classes: mollisols (rendzinas, etc.), argilluvisols, cambisols (brown acid soils etc.), and underdeveloped soils[7].

HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

From the administrative point of view, the settlements in the Corridor belong to the Argeş county (Rucăr, Dâmbovicioara, and Dragoslavele communes) and Braşov county (Fundata, Moieciu and Bran). In relation to the urban centers, the Rucăr-Bran Corridor lies north of Câmpulung (20 km) and Târgovişte (60 km) and south of Braşov (20 km) and Zărneşti (2 km). The communes are made up of several villages, as follows: Rucăr commune (Rucăr and Sătic); Dragoslavele commune (Dragoslavele and Valea Hotarului); Dâmbovicioara commune (Podu Dâmboviţei,

[5] Simion 1990: 26.
[6] Ibidem.
[7] Harta solurilor 1975.

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Dâmbovicioara, Ciocanu and Valea Urdii hamlet); Fundata commune (Fundata, Fundăţica and Şirnea); Moieciu commune (Moieciu de Jos, Moieciu de Sus, Cheia, Drumul Carului, Peştera, and Măgura); Bran commune (Bran, Şimon, Poarta, Predeluţ, and Sohodol). The old cores of the six communes lie within the Corridor (except for Predeluţ and Poarta vilages, which belong to Ţara Bârsei), but their estates stretch to the nearby mountains. Thus, the administrative boundary of the Dragoslavele commune goes as far as the Leaota and Iezer-Păpuşa Mts.; that of the Rucăr commune stretches to the Iezer-Păpuşa, Făgăraş and Piatra Craiului Mts; that of Dâmbovicioara commune to the Piatra Craiului Mts.; that of Fundata commune to the Piatra Craiului and Leaota; that of Moieciu commune to the Leaota, Bucegi and Piatra Craiului; and that of Bran commune to the Bucegi Mts.

THE DYNAMICS OF SHEEPFOLD LOCATION

The investigation of a sheepfold location within a specific geographical setting usually begins by analyzing, interpreting and comparing the topographic maps of the area.

Methodology. A complex and comprehensive analysis of the territorial dynamics of a particular place requires the use of various data, especially of cartographic nature, which have to cover a sufficiently large time span, so that the study findings can be considered conclusive.

Data sources

The Austrian Maps, of scale 1:200.000, were drawn in the aftermath of the third military land survey campaign initiated by the Austrian-Hungarian Empire (which started in 1869). The Romanian historical provinces were covered entirely by this action, which came to an end around the year 1900. Apart of the multitude of information pertaining to physical or socio-economic geography, these map sheets also display the location of the sheepfolds, which are symbolized by a small circle with a triangle above ⏢ (fig. 1).

The Tourist Map of the Romanian Touring Club. During the interwar period, Romania experienced a great development of tourism. Following the model of the Western countries, travel enthusiasts felt the need of setting up associations meant to represent their interests and passions. This is how it came into existence, in 1926, the Romanian Touring Club (an association for tourism and environmental protection), under the patronage of Mihai Haret, which aimed at developing the tourism activities and at giving the Romanians the opportunity of getting to know their country. Under the aegis of the R.T.C., the "Unirea" Cartographic Institute in Braşov published between 1930 and 1940 several of tourist maps, among which the Tourist Map of the Piatra Craiului–Zărneşti–Bran–Rucăr area (1933). This cartographic document of scale 1:30.000 is extremely important for the present investigation, as it pinpoints the sheepfolds that existed in 1933. The cartographic symbol for sheepfold is a small circle with a filled triangle above ⏢ (fig. 2).

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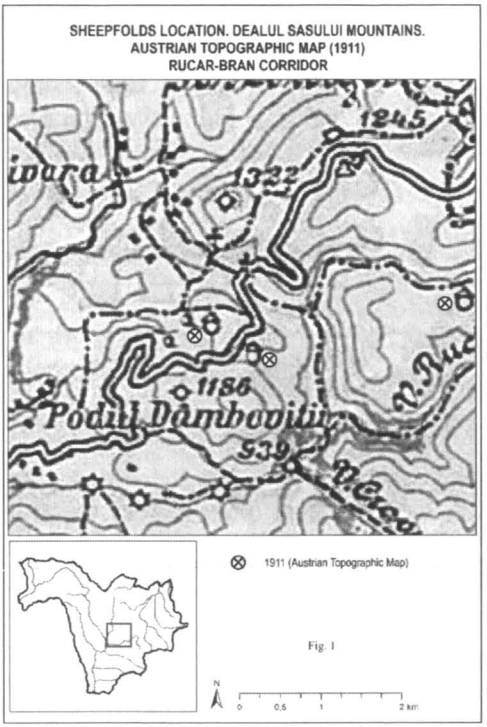

Fig. 1

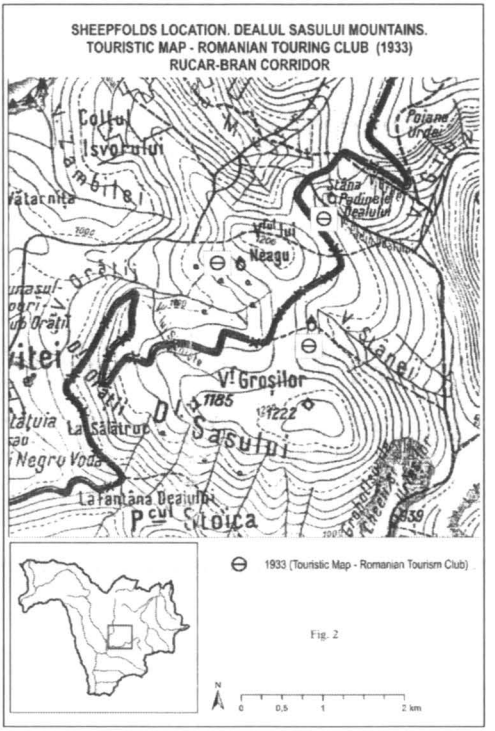

Fig. 2

The topographic maps. For studying the discussed area, I have also used the following topographic maps:

The military maps known as Planurile Directoare de Tragere (PDT) were accomplished between 1916 and 1918 in the Lambert-Cholesky Projection, at various scales (1:20.000, 1:100.000 and 1:200.000). On most of these maps, terrain is represented by contour lines; on the rest of them, however, hachure method has been employed. The index contour lines have a height increment of 100 m, the intermediate ones of 20 m, and the supplementary ones of 10 m. The colors used for drawing these maps are brown (for topography), green (for vegetation, on map sheets displaying parts of Bucovina, Moldavia and Dobrudja) and black for the rest of the representation. Until 1959, when the last map sheets in Lambert-Cholesky Projection were developed, the maps had been repeatedly updated with regard to toponymy and land use, based on aerial photographs. Besides the information related to topograpy, the maps also provide information regarding the land use categories (forests, vineyards, etc.), the settlments at the time, the network of roads and railways, as well as the pastoral constructions, namely the sheepfolds (fig.3).

For the investigated territory I have used the map sheets of scale 1:20.000, updated between 1940 and 1958 (depending on each sheet). The maps are available in GeoTiff format, and are georeferenced in Stereo 70 projection (http://www.earth.unibuc.ro).

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The Military Topographic Map of scale 1:25.000 employed for this study is the one published in 1981 under the aegis of the Military Land Survey Directorate using the Gauss-Krüger Projection. The topographic maps offer important details about topography, land use, stream system, human settlements and the transportation network, as well as about other elements of interest, including sheepfolds and *saivane* (larger stables). The cartographic symbol for sheepfold is a square, with the abbreviation stn. (from *stână*–sheepfold) next to it (fig. 4). These cartographic documents are available as a georeferenced mosaic in Stereo 70 projection, which can be found at http://www.opengis.unibuc.ro.

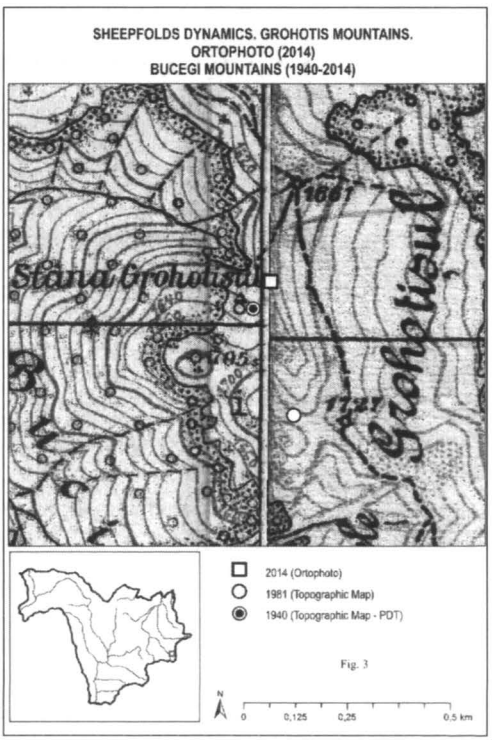

Fig. 3

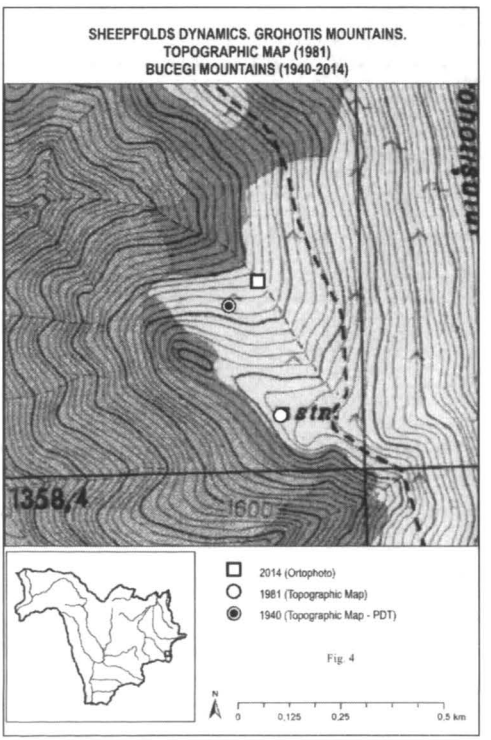

Fig. 4

The Ortophotoplans were made between 2003 and 2005 and were released for public use in 2006. They are the property of the National Agency for Cadastre and Real Estate Publicity (NACREP) and have a spatial resolution of 0.5 m.

The processing of all these information sources consisted firstly in extracting the sheepfolds from the Austrian Map (1911), the Tourist Map of the Romanian Touring Club (1933), the military maps known as Planurile Directoare de Tragere (1940–1958), the Topographic Map (1981), and the ortophotoplans (2006, updated using Google Earth 2014). Then, I rendered them in vector format as a thematic point layer.

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As final base map, I used the ortophotoplan, as it had a spatial resolution of 0.5 m. I superposed on it the other thematic layers, having different symbols for representing the sheepfold. Depending on the map of origin, the symbols were the following: a square (for the ortophotoplan); an empty circle (for the topographic map); two concentric circles, the inner one being filled (for the Planul Director de Tragere); a circle cut in two equal halves (for the tourist map); and a crossed circle (for the Austrian Map).

The findings highlight the time and space evolution of the sheepfolds lying on the highland estates of the settlements within the Rucăr-Bran Corridor. The content of the previously mentioned cartographic documents was confronted with the Map of Temporary Settlements and with my personal field survey in 2014 at some of these sheepfolds. It is possible that the old maps do not include all the sheepfolds (the mappings were done according to the techniques of that time), but some of them can be found either on other maps or on historical documents.

The topographic maps display all the visible elements, without highlighting any of them in particular. As regards the dynamics of sheepfold location, I deemed necessary to approach it distinctly, namely based on case studies, thus allowing us to get an overview of the pastoral phenomena developing within the estate of the settlements. Such case studies in the Rucăr-Bran Corridor provide information about the representative changes affecting the entire areas belonging to the Piatra Craiului, Bucegi, Făgăraş and Iezer mountains.

The sheepfold on Mount Coja – the Piatra Craiului Massif

The location of this particular sheepfold has varied in altitude, between 1.400 m and 1.460 m (in 1933, on the Tourist Map, it is called the Cozia Sheepfold – 1460 m), and also as placement, since it changed its settlement with several hundred meters. Most of the time, it stood on the slope of the mountain, but around the year 1933 it almost reached the top (fig. 5). The slopes are facing to the west, so the sheepfold is partly heated and sunny (after midday). Mara Popp said[8]: "(...) taking into account the mountain ridge orientation, in connection with the notions of the «front» of the mountain – sunny place, rich in pastures – and the «back» of the mountain – shady spot with thick forests (...) Consequently, the summery mountains are the most suitable for shepherding". At present, on Mount Coja there are two sheepfolds located at about 500 m from each other. They are used alternatively, each one for one or two years in turns, thus preserving the pasture and soil quality and the avoidance of their "burning". The sheepfolds, which are built of coniferous logs, have stone foundations, and are covered with shingle and partly with metal sheets.

[8] 1933: 277.

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The water source is in the vicinity (200–300 m), and as lighting means the shepherds use gas lamps, flashlights, and light bulbs powered by a Diesel generator. The sheepfold 1 studied in 2014 is L-shaped and consists of three rooms (*fierbătoarea* – the room for milk boiling; *stâna foilor* – the room for milk processing and storing; and *stâna de brânză* – the cheese [storage] hut), while the other sheepfold, which was intended to be used in the following year, had also three rooms, but a linear arrangement.

The sheepfold on Mount Berivoi – the Făgăraş Massif

In the Făgăraş Mts., the sheepfolds are located on the "front" of the mountain. Consequently, the south-facing slopes, which are warm and sunny, allow the sheepfold to reach over 1,600 m in altitude. At the beginning of the 20th century, the sheepfold on Mount Berivoi was located in the Vladului Valley, but at the middle of the century, it migrated on the adjacent slopes (fig. 6). Starting with the 1980s, the sheepfold has descended again to the valley, partly because of the clearings and arsons and partly because pastoral life has become less intense. The current tendency of the sheepfolds is to withdraw to the valley corridors, where water resources are handy, and rapid access roads and paths insure transportation of dairy products to village and trading.

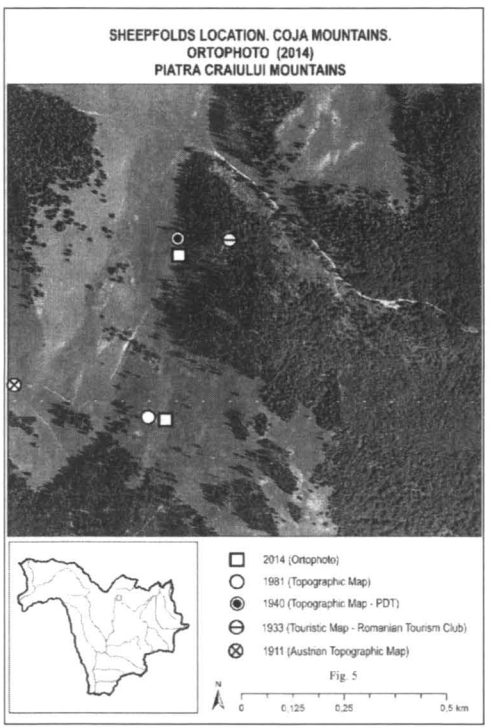

Fig. 5

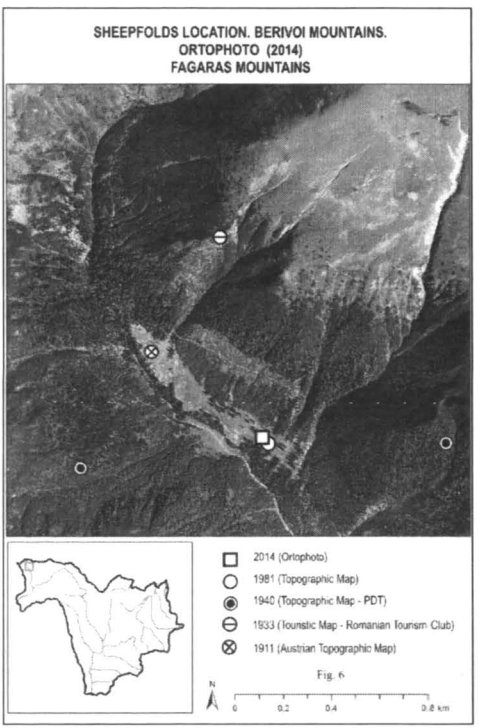

Fig. 6

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The sheepfold on Mount Pecineagu – the Iezer Massif

Its location has varied between 1,500 and 1,600 m, and the tendency has been to descend from the slopes towards the bottom of the valley. If in 1911 there was only one sheepfold (see the image in fig. 7), in the 1980s there were three sheepfolds. However, each of them was used in turn, on annual or pluriannual basis.

The sheepfolds on the Sasului Hill – the Rucăr-Bran Corridor

From the elevation standpoint, their location has ranged from 1.100 to 1.200 m. On the Austrian Map (1911), one can see two sheepfolds, one at the foot of the Sasului Hill and the other in the vicinity of the Neagu Peak (1160 m), on the southwestern slope (fig. 8). On the Tourist Map of 1933, apart from the two sheepfolds, there is another one, called Padinele Dealului, lying on the southeastern slope, close by the Valea Urdii hamlet. Their location at a small distance from the national road Câmpulung–Braşov, which on the map bears the name *Drumul Carului* (Cart Road), has facilitated the direct and rapid selling of the dairy products either to tourists or to other people passing through the area. Over the time, this practice made the sheepfold become the core of a permanent settlement, namely the Valea Urdii hamlet. A similar process occurred in the case of other temporary pastoral shelters (sheepfolds, rooms, huts etc.), through permanent habitation (due to the migration of Dâmbovicioara and Ciocanu residents). The oiconim (place name)

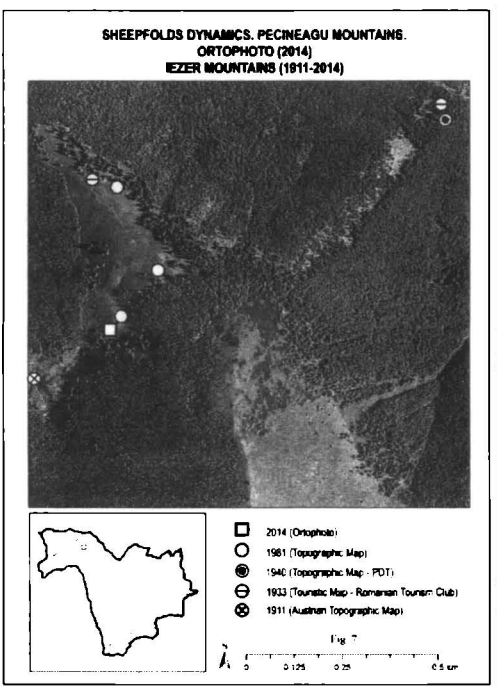

Fig. 7

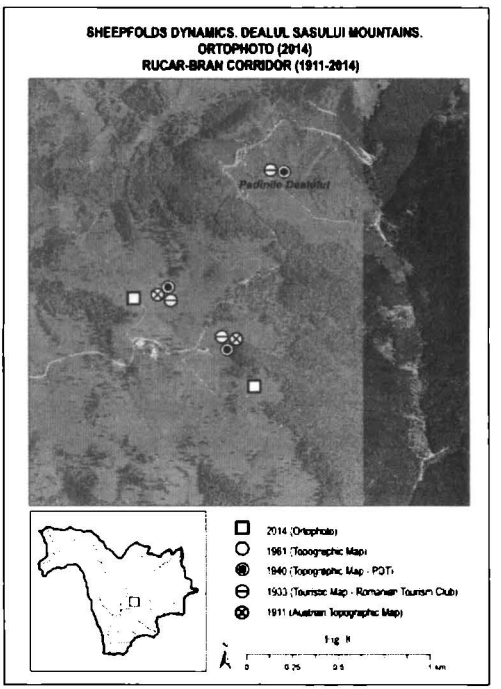

Fig. 8

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Valea Urdii comes from the term *urdă* (whey cheese), a word that belongs to the Thracian-Geto-Dacian vocabulary. It points at the intense pastoral activity, as also do other two toponyms: *Poiana Urdei* (Urda's Glade), found north of the hamlet, and *Valea Stânii* (Sheepfold's Valley), to the south.

During the communist period, the sheepfolds were replaced by large stables, one of them being preserved until today as a tourist attraction. At present, on the Sasului Hill, there are three sheepfolds: two located on the slopes and one on the ridge (this is not shown on the ortophotoplan, as it lies a little bit southwards). The sheepfolds lying on the slopes, on small flat areas, have five rooms, electric power and vehicle access. Since in the 20th century such large sheepfolds became mixte, the sheep milking area and the cattle stall are distinct, situated nearby the human dairy processing and living area.

The sheepfold on Mount Sântilia – the Leaota Massif

This has kept the same location, at an elevation of approximately 1,460 m, on the northwestern slope of Mount Sântilie (fig. 9). At present, the sheepfold has three rooms. The owner and the personnel are from Boteni commune, the Argeş County. The *baci* (shepherd in charge of the flock) is the key person, as it has to take good care of the sheepfold belongings and of its economic efficiency, i.e. the amount and quality of dairy products: *brânză de burduf* (bellows cheese), *urdă* (whey cheese), *unt* (butter), *jintiță* (cheese curd), etc. This sheepfold is very clean and the shepherd in charge is pedantic and responsible. Milk processing uses mostly traditional wooden utensils and vessels, as for instance *buduroiul* (container made of fir bark, used for storing and fermentation of cheese – as the elders used to do at the beginning of the 20th century), which explains the good quality of the dairy products.

Sântilie (Saint Elias) is also the folk name of the saint's Christian feast, which is celebrated on July 20, when people believe that the saint sends heavy thunderstorm rains and hail. In the Sântilia Glade, with this occasion, people used to organize a *nedeie*, as identified by I. Prahoveanu[9]: "Saint Elias is a pastoral holiday organized on Mount Sântilie at the border between Bran, Muscel and Dâmboviţa". This "two countries" fair, since organized on the edge between Transylvania and Wallachia, more exactly in the Leaota Mts., was a large pastoral celebration and a complex event, were people came not only to party and engage in trade activities, but also to meet their potential spouses. Likewise, the shepherds had the chance to meet their families, as the women were forbidden to climb to the sheepfold. Nowadays, this ban is not observed any longer, with the exception of few sheepfolds, especially those hard to reach. Starting with 1969, the rustic party was organized by Fundata village, nowadays the party has been hosted by Fundăţica. However, the meaning of the pastoral custom has changed, the emphasis

[9] 1998: 77.

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falling now on folklore, cultural and artistic performances, trading activities, and sometimes even on political propaganda.

The sheepfold on Mount Grohotiş – the Bucegi Massif

In 1940, this sheepfold was on the slope of Mount Grohotiş, at an altitude of 1640 m. In the 1980s, it reached the elevation of 1820 m, but at present, it has returned to its initial location (fig. 4). The sheepfold has two rooms: *fierbătoarea* (the room for milk boiling) and *stâna de brânză* (the cheese room). The *buduroi*, *putineiul* (the churn), *hârdăul* (the big bucket), and *ciubărul* (the pail), are made of fir-tree staves, while the *crinta* (the table where old cheese is minced) is made of fir plank. The sheepfold is built like the old ones, having two rooms. The sheepfold is poorly organized: the shepherd in charge has failed to impose himself as head of the sheepfold and has departed from its rules: cleanliness, the shepherds are allowed to eat inside the sheepfold only after the sheep have been milked, every shepherd has to do the job that he was hired for, shepherds must obey the shepherd in charge etc. Practically, one cannot tell who the head of the sheepfold is, or as the saying goes, this is a "sheepfold without dogs".

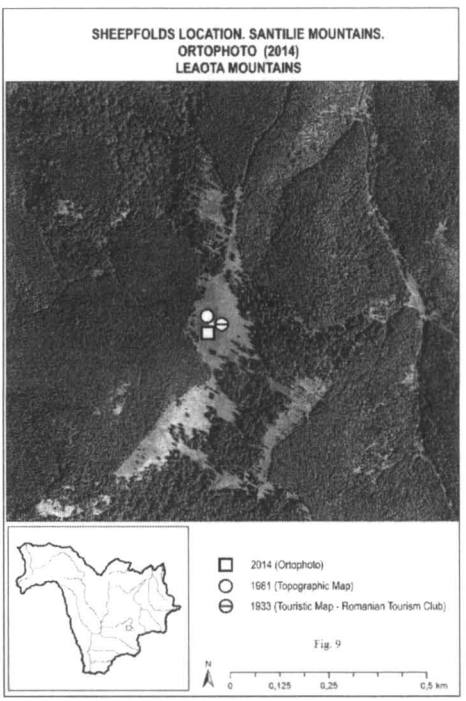

Fig. 9

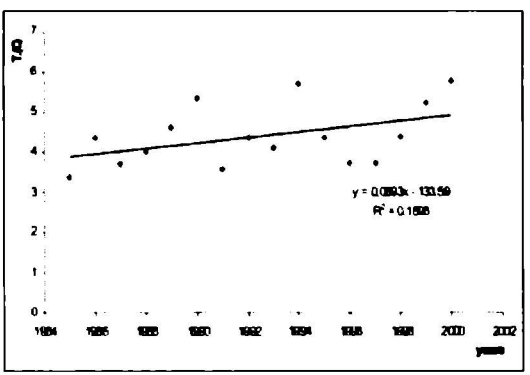

Fig. 10 – The evolution of the average annual temperatures for the period 1986–2000 at Fundata weather station (1.384 m).

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THE SHEEPFOLD EVOLUTION

Everything a peasant does within the natural landscape is or becomes an ethnographic document. The ethnographic landscape integrates the natural and the social environment, where the human being modifies or replaces the natural components (biotic and abiotic) based on his needs, the level of organization and development of the community to which he belongs[10].

Animal husbandry is an ancient occupation of the people in the Bran and Rucăr area. To people of yore, according to Vâlsan[11], this was "the highest shool for educating the younger generation in the remote past". Until 1990, the shepherds originating in the Bran-Rucăr area were numerous and well-known all over the country, but at present their number has dropped significantly, and the sheepfolds are confronted with lack of staff. Consequently, the *stăpânii de munte* (literally, "highlands masters", i.e. the owners) have come to hire people from other geographical areas, of Rroma ethnicity, who are unfamiliar with the activity and lack dedication and seriousness. More than that, shepherding, which used to be the "pride" of the local people, is considered today a degrading occupation, which explains why the parents refuse to let their children practice it. Today, the sheepfold's staff includes few experienced shepherds, who practice this occupation for pleasure, teenage boys (aged 14–18 years) and men with bad financial situation, and Rroma people.

The anthropogenic pressure through pastoral activities on the natural setting is currently much lower in comparison with the interwar period, and especially with the end of the 19th century. Between 1989 and 2007, shepherding declined. However, after 2007, as soon as the Agency of Payments and Intervention in Agriculture has subsidized for fields and animal heads, sheep husbandry got a consistent increase. But on the whole, although the number of sheepfolds has increased, the livestock dropped significantly. In the past, the *economi de oi* (sheep owners) had 4,000 or even 5,000 heads, but at present, the sheepfolds shelter only a few hundred at most. Likewise, it is worth mentioning that currently the sheepfolds shelter both sheep and cattle, although in the past cattle breeding in a sheepfold was an extremely rare practice.

Located on the alpine grasslands, sheepfold is used for many years for summer grazing. The temporary character of the sheepfold is also dictated by the climate. In order to prove this, I have illustrated the evolution of the average annual temperatures at Fundata weather station. As one can see in fig. 10, there is a slight increase in temperature, from 4.4°C in 1986 to 5.4°C in the year 2000. In the higher areas, the average temperature ranges from 0°C to 2°C, while in summer time the values vary between 10°C and 14°C. The duration of snow cover is particular important for shepherding. In this respect, one may see that the number of days with snow cover is 120–140 at Rucăr and Bran, 200 at Fundata and over

[10] David 2013: 199.
[11] 2001: 411.

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200 in the upper areas. Thus, it is obvious that sheepfolds are functional only in the summer season. The sheep flocks and the cow herds climb to the sheepfold by the end of May or (when winter is severe) at the beginning of June. The summer grazing comes to an end in early September, around the celebration of Holy Mary holiday, according to the saying that goes roughly like this: *La Sfânta Maria Mare/ Cobor oile la vale* (When the great feast of the Holy Mary comes/ Sheep come down into the valley). But if the weather is fine, the flocks will go down at the end of the month.

The sheepfolds are located in wind-sheltered places, situated near springs, trails, forests or on glades, especially in sunny and smooth places, where hayfields are larger and better in terms of quality. *Stăpânii de munte* or *responsabilii* (masters/entrepreneurs or responsibles/managers) located their sheepfolds near the forest as they needed firewood, and near the springs, which usually are found within the forest. The fire in the *fierbătoare* (the room for milk boiling), which is the responsibility of the shepherd in charge, must be kept aflame at all times, from the moment the sheep flocks climb up the mountain until they go back down to their wintering sites. The building of sheepfolds, the fire that must be kept alive at all times, the need for fir bark necessary for cheese packing, and vessel manufacturing are all wood consuming. All these, corroborated with the need for pasture enlargement (usually by burning the compact juniper trees), leads with the passing of time to the lowering of the upper tree limits.

Until the 1980s, wood was the main material used for sheepfold building; the walls, the ceiling, and the structural elements of the roof were made of coniferous logs, while the roof itself was covered with shakes or shingles. Only the foundation was built of stone, while the floor was covered with beaten earth. For insulating purposes, among the logs and at their joints mosses and lichens were stuffed. Most of the vessels used for milking or milk processing (*buduroaiele* for fermenting and storing the fresh cheese, the carved trough etc.) were made of coniferous planks or staves. The dairy products obtained at the sheepfold were 100% ecological. The rennet used in the production of cheese was obtained from the stomach of suckling lamb and calf. After 1989, the construction materials have diversified: metal (sheets for the roofs, aluminium vessels, machines for fresh cheese mincing, etc.), plastic (vessels, foils used for roofs or for insulating the walls, etc.), and concrete (for floor and foundation).

The old type of sheepfold had a simple and efficient construction plan, with two rooms: *fierbătoarea* (the room for milk boiling) and *stâna foilor* (the room for cheese storing and processing). The *comarnic* (the milking space) was situated either between them or on the side. Later on, the sheepfold with three rooms came into being. This had a linear or an L-shaped layout (photo 1), while the *comarnic* and the sheep sleeping area moved to a short distance. At present, there are three-roomed sheepfolds, with the *comarnic* located nearby, four-roomed sheepfolds (photo 2), where *fierbătoarea* is separated from *stâna foilor* and *stâna de brânză* (the cheese hut), and five-roomed sheepfolds.

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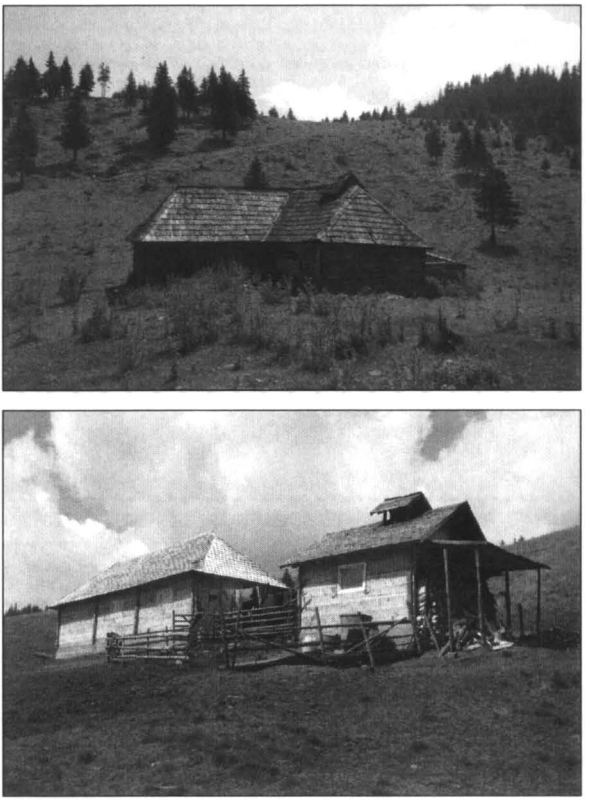

Photo 1, 2: Sheepfolds on Mount Pietrele (Piatra Craiului Massif)

The grazing inside the forest is a practice with disastrous effects on forest regeneration. The most serious problems of this type were reported prior to 1900, when livestock was larger than in the following years. The provisions of the Forest Code of 1881, however strict they were, failed to reduce this phenomenon. But its negative effects gradually diminished by 1980, although the legislation in force at that time was rather permissive. After 1990, the grazing inside the forests has declined, because the forest codes of 1996 and 2008 have banned it completely. Other factors that have supported the positive process have been the dropping of the livestock number and the shrinking of the secondary pastures of high forage value found inside the forests[12]. The recently cleared areas, despite their significant expansion, have not turned into pastures of interest for the shepherds.

Specific for the pastoral landscape are the temporary dwellings, which occur either isolated or in clusters, making up genuine "perched villages", as C. Giurcăneanu[13] used to call them. These clusters usually go by the name of dwellings or rooms

[12] Săvulescu 2014: 229–235.
[13] Idem 1988: 78.

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(*hodăi*). Locally, however, they are also called shacks, huts, barns, yards, etc. All of them are built for manifold purposes: shelters for people and animals during hay harvesting or during winter period, places for storing animal feed or dairy products, etc. Over the time, many of these temporary pastoral settlements have become permanent, thus contributing to the population growth and to the development of animal husbandry in this area.

The sheepfolds existing today have suffered numerous changes: new construction techniques, plastic packaging for dairy products, the use of chemical rennet, the electric fence bordering the milking and sleeping areas, the lighting sources (solar panels), the communication means (mobile phones), the uselessness of wool, easy access, etc. All these will be addressed in detail in a forthcoming paper. However, I want to draw attention to the fact that these traditional pastoral landscapes, created, developed and preserved over centuries and millenia, either disappear or suffer significant and rapid alterations. The major problem, that needs to be solved as soon as possible, is the shortage of staff, the lack of men with shepherding "in their blood". There can be no shepherding without shepherds.[14]

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* * * 1911: *Harta austriacă* [The Austrian Map], scale 1:200.000 Foaia 43–45, 43–46.

[14] This paper was suported by the Sectorial Operational Programme Human Resources Development (SOP HRD), financed from the European Social Fund and by the Romanian Government under the contract number SOP HRD/159/1.5/S/136077.

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* * * 1933: *Harta turistică a Asociației Turing-Clubul României* [The Tourist Map of the Romanian Touring Club], scale 1:30.000.
* * * 1940–1958: *Planurile Directoare de Tragere* (PDT) [shooting military maps], scale 1:20.000;
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MICROCLIMATE MONITORING ANALYSES CORRELATED FOR RISK MANAGEMENT OF THE FOLKLORE ARCHIVE'S PAPER COLLECTION

MONICA SIMILEANU, ALEXANDRU CHELMUŞ, ROXANA RĂDVAN

ABSTRACT

The current paper takes into study the microclimate conditions and their impact on the paper collection belonging to the archive of the Romanian Academy's „C. Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore, assessing the dynamics of t and RH during the course of a full yearly cycle. The microclimate data compared are collected for two scenarios: one in which the storage rooms were rarely accessed and one with a regular basis human resources access. Control of temperature and relative humidity is the critical feature in the preservation of archival collections. Although the T an RH correct values are still disputed, the general recommendation is a constant temperature no higher than 21°C and a constant value of the relative humidity chosen from 30% to 50%. Research indicates that relative humidity at the lower end of this range is preferable since deterioration then progresses at a slower rate.

Keywords: microclimate, relative humidity, temperature, dust, temperature dynamics, paper archive, conservation.

The present study is part of the project *Folkloric Multimedia Deposit – Folkmedia*[1] and it is strictly correlated to the relocation, digitization[2] and disinfestation of the thesaurus collection belonging to "Constantin Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore of the Romanian Academy. The decontamination of the archive's funds is in progress and preliminary results taking into consideration the microclimate data were already published[3], since low temperature influence the insect activity, lowering their metabolism. Thus, the anoxia exposure times were changed accordingly when temperatures dropped

[1] This work was supported by a grant of the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research, CNDI–UEFISCDI, PN-II-PT-PCCA-2011-3.1-0363.

[2] Ratoiu, Neamu 2014.

[3] Rădvan, Simileanu 2013.

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below 20°C. Anoxic 'fumigation', now extensively used in museums all over the world, is temperature dependent and is found to be relatively ineffective at temperatures below 15°C.

Degradation of archival paper documents is determined by endogenous and exogenous factors of extreme importance, such as paper acidity, lignin content, pollutants, light exposure, microclimate parameters (temperature and humidity) etc.

Relative humidity (RH) is defined as a function of *moisture in the air* and *temperature* (the percent of water existing in the air, in vapor form, out of the total amount of water that the air could hold at a given temperature). The values of the relative humidity interfere severely in the processes and reactions underwent in the cellulosic substrates: high values lead induce chemical deterioration of paper primarily through cellulose hydrolysis and oxidation (especially in the case of acidic paper), while extremely low values lead to desiccation and embrittlement of the paper substrates. Fluctuations of RH/T have proven to induce higher deterioration rates than moderate stable levels, due to the fact that paper is by nature a hygroscopic material, therefore it will exchange moisture (absorb/release) with the environment trying to reach equilibrium[4]. During an RH fluctuation cycle, the paper suffers non-uniform processes, each individual fiber being able to expand/contract from two to five times greater across the width of the fiber than in length[5].

As mentioned before, temperature values are also vital, playing an important role in the temperature/relative humidity equation, current studies[6] offering the possibility to calculate how many times the lifetime of paper can be changed if the temperature of storage is increased or decreased by one degree Celsius[7].

The archive of the "C. Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore has been relocated in new available spaces in the mezzanine of the Romanian Academy building. Therefore, a network of RH and T sensors has been built up in order to assess the microclimate conditions and to take the necessary measures, accordingly. The network consisted in 5 synchronized sensors, placed in four different rooms, taking in consideration cardinal orientation and the room's purpose. A fifth one was placed in the middle of the hall that connects all these rooms, as it can be seen in *Figure 1*. The sensors placed in the archive rooms were set at ~1 meter height, and the one from the lobby at 3.5 meters.

Considering the outmost importance of the microclimate factors in the preservation of any type of archive, the fluctuations of RH and T were assessed during two consecutive years: 2013 and 2014. The minimum and maximum values, as well as the scale of the T and RH gradients are presented in *Table 1* and *Table 2*.

[4] Bigourdan, Reilly 2002.
[5] http://www.jbdco.com/uploads/papnotesrh-humidity.pdf.
[6] Strlic 2011.
[7] Strlič, Kolar 2005.

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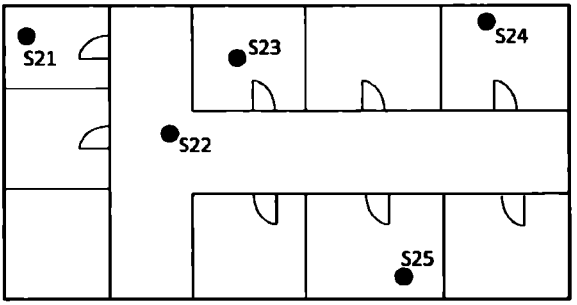

Fig. 1 – Sensors' positioning.

Table 1

T minimum and maximum values for March-August 2013 and March-August 2014 timeframes

Year	Sensor / T [°C]	21	22	23	24	25
2013	*min.*	12.5	15.0	14.0	14.0	13.5
	max.	25.5	27.0	24.5	27.5	25.0
2014	*min.*	12.5	14.0	13.5	13.5	13.5
	max.	25.5	25.5	24.5	26.5	25.0

Table 2

RH minimum and maximum values
for March – August 2013 and March – August 2014 timeframes

Year	Sensor / RH [%]	21	22	23	24	25
2013	*min.*	22.5	24.0	30.5	26.0	22.0
	max.	73.5	70.0	67.0	62.0	66.0
2014	*min.*	33.0	34.0	39.0	37.0	30.5
	max.	79.5	75.0	71.5	68.0	70.5

The temperature fluctuation follows a similar pattern for 2013 and 2014 and is quite high: lowest T = 12.5°C and the highest T = 27.5°C. The fluctuations have low gradients over time, but still measures have to be taken in order to provide a constant temperature, around 18°C, as recommended by the international conservation standards[8].

The RH data evaluation shows a serious increase of the humidity values in year 2014, compared to year 2013. This is probably due to the human factor,

[8] Ford 2012, Camuffo 2014.

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because in 2014 more people worked in the archive's rooms. Even without the human factor, the RH values are still very high and this a signal of alarm, that underlines the necessity of placing dehumidifiers in all the rooms that the archive's fund are stored or accessed[9], in order to lower the RH values, considering the standard values for each type of material[10].

One of the major issues that submerge from the T and RH monitoring consists in the variations between day and night, similar for all sensors. This can be correlated to a flawed climate system that is probably shut down during the night. An example of a sudden change in temperature can be observed in the charts of S21 on 28 March 2013, when the sensor recorded a change of 6°C in a time frame of 5 hours (*Figure 2*).

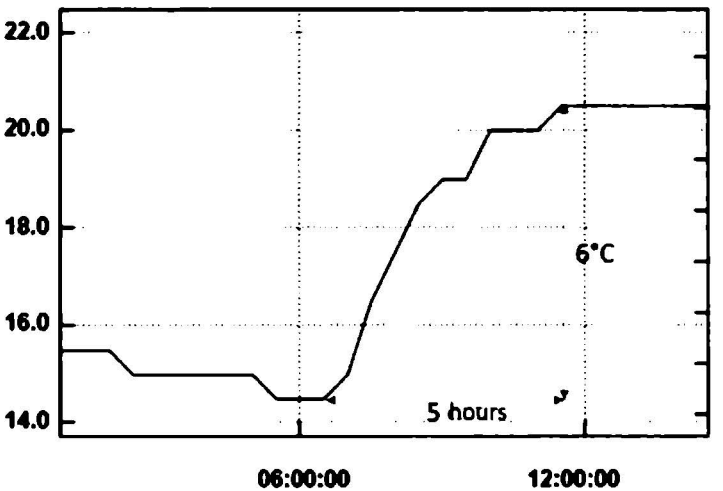

Fig. 2 – High night and day T fluctuation recorded by S21 on 28th of March 2013.

A very high RH gradient was observed on 20 March 2013, also in the charts of S21: 14.5% variation in a 5 hours' time frame (*see Figure 3*).

In any case, long term monitoring of large collections is needed to assess the influence of the storage environment and of the inherent material properties on the ageing behavior of a collection. But a very important factor is the *dust*, which correlated to inappropriate temperature and humidity values leads to ingraining or cementation to the underlying surfaces. High humidity induces biological, physical and chemical processes that can lead to cementation; bacterial cells can exude exo-polymers that can act like an adhesive and bind dust particles to the underlying substrate[11]. Humidity

[9] Ritzenthaler 1990.
[10] Wagner 2000.
[11] Mallis 1997.

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fluctuations determine physical movement of the fibrous materials, therefore it increases the chances of dust to embed deeper into porous surfaces[12]. A high humidity may induce leaching of the calcium ions from the dust particles and their reinstallation as microcrystalline calcite, leading to cementation of the dust particle to the paper substrate. At high relative humidity percent the chemical process can advance quite rapidly, such that the cements may form in less than a day[13].

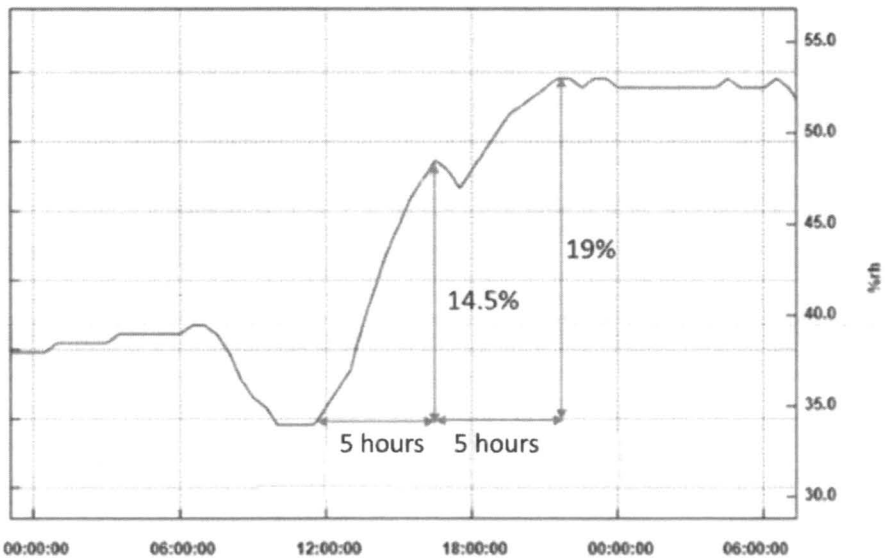

Fig. 3 – High night and day RH gradients recorded by S21 on 20th of March 2013.

The dynamics of the temperature and relative humidity on the whole area monitored can be evaluated through the 3D renderings presented in *Figures 3–6*. For a better understanding, the graphs are plotted only for one specific date and hour – March 13th at 18.30 hours, for both years. The values used for graphs generation are presented in *Table 3*.

Table 3

Temperature and Relative Humidity values used for 3D graphs' rendering

Year	**2013**					**2014**				
Sensor	**21**	**22**	**23**	**24**	**25**	**21**	**22**	**23**	**24**	**25**
Temperature [°C]	14.0	15.5	15.0	15.0	16.0	13.0	14.5	14.0	14.5	14.0
Relative humidity [%]	63.5	49.0	47.0	56.5	50.0	52.5	46.5	47.0	44.0	46.0

[12] Nieves 1993.
[13] Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change... 2007.

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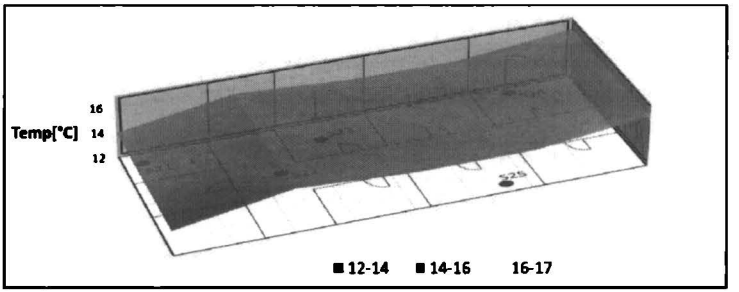

Fig. 4 – 3D representation of the T distribution on the archive's rooms for 2013.

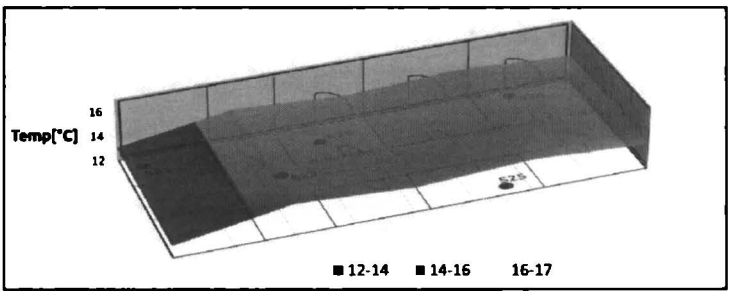

Fig. 5 – 3D representation of the T distribution on the archive's rooms for 2014.

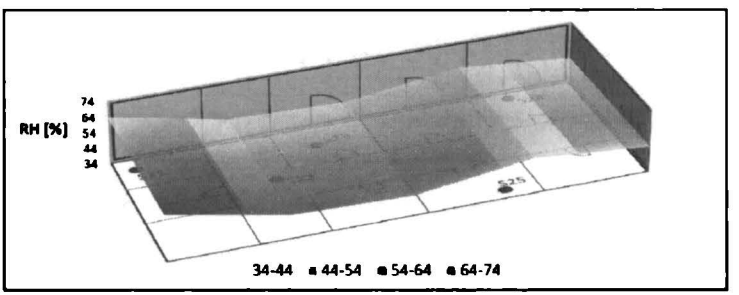

Fig. 6 – 3D representation of the RH distribution on the archive's rooms for 2013.

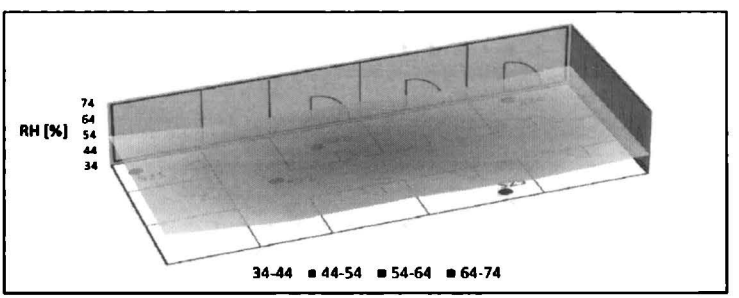

Fig.7 – 3D representation of the RH distribution on the archive's rooms for 2014.

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The maximum values are marked by dark shades of gray and the minimum by the lighter shades of gray. The 3D graphs presented above facilitate the assessment of the distribution of temperature and relative humidity values over the entire monitored surface of the archive.

The seasonal variability is quite considerable when it is compared with the archive standards for indoor climate stability. The upward deviation observed exceeds the acceptable increase by 7%, specified as the first alarm level. Moreover, in absolute terms, the maximum seasonal deviation of RH goes near the upper limit of 80% above which attention should be paid to the risk of mold growth. The downward deviations during the spells of dry weather in spring or summer come close to the decrease by 18%, specified as the second alarm level.

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Isaac Weiner, *Religion Out Loud: Religious Sound, Public Space, and American Pluralism*. New York and London: New York University Press, 2014. xiii + 251 pp., index. ISBN 978-0–8147-0807–1

Religion and noise[1]... Over the last twenty years I have constantly thought of this subject, and now I am puzzled how could have happen such a book not to come out much earlier. In other words, hadn't been for Isaac Weiner and this book of him to be(come) real, they would have to be invented!

Indeed, who in the world has not noticed that faith and noise are constantly connected? Who in the world has not noticed that expressing and expanding culture/religion were always making use of acoustic space and tools in intense, loud ways? In such respect, direct observations and banal anecdotes abound, as Isaac Weiner admits in the first phrases of his acknowledgements opening pages; and then, and later widely and wisely exploits throughout his entire book.

However, mostly pop music studies were much aware of the social and cultural functionality of volume intensity and noise (and this, only after the rock revolution, then the heavy metal one, became academic research fields). On the other hand, however, Jacques Attali's 1977/1985 book (on the cultural and political role of noise) could have been a consistent incentive for ethnomusicologists to tackle the issue that so widely works within all vernacular cultures (religious included). However, the study of noise has become a consistent research topic in recent decades, and Weiner duly acknowledges the papers and books on this topic – not in an easy to check bibliographical list at the end of his book, but in the endnotes only, hence forcing the reader to thoroughly go through them all. The endnotes, however, include critical fragments of numberless book reviews as well as insightful brief comments p. 209–244), offering excellent guidance inside/through a colossal, labyrintic bibliography.

Selective with his studied cases, very clear and sharp in his comments/theoretic interpretaions, Isaac Weiner makes here an excellent work of cultural studies scholarship. In just a little bit over 200 pages (plus that very consistent bulk of endnotes), he writes about the American history of religious noise-making in ways that are easy transferable to many other cultural and religious musical usages.

The author focuses on the legal arena; and out of numerous historic cases and situations, he extracts and clearly elaborates, at length, critical meanings. In order to do so, he analyses instances in which "religion has become noise when

[1] A very small review of this book – lacking quotations, references, and numerous observations and comments that are present here – was published in Marian-Bălaşa 2014. Thus, although fragments and ideas of that note-review also appear in the present text, the later one is not only larger, but academically more consistent and complex.

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religionists have practiced their faith too loudly, their sounds regarded as no different from the more *profane* sonic disturbances that emanate from any other source. Religion has become noise when its sonic expressions have seemed *really* annoying" (p. 4). "Sounds have annoyed because they have been too loud but also because of who has made them and in what context. Noise complaints have targeted unwanted noisemakers as much as unwanted noises (...) The differentiation of harmonious sounds from deleterious ones has depended at least as much on who is listening and to whom they are listening as on the particular tone or quality of a given acoustic vibration. In fact, dominant groups have most typically used noise complaints to demarcate outsiders to the community, to marginalize others, and to restrain dissent. They have used noise complaints to assert control over urban spaces, to delimit proper forms of behavior and expression, and to regulate who and what can be heard in public" (idem). "Religion has become noise at various moments in US history not because its sounds were perceived as *not* different from the other aural annoyances of modern life, but precisely because they were thought to be different. Religion became noise when its sounds were heard where they were not expected or where they were not supposed to be" (p. 5). "Sensory values expressed social hierarchies, and cacophony signaled social chaos. Noise marked the limit of what could be tolerated" (idem). "Through disputes about religious sound, Americans have contested the proper place of religion and religious adherents in US spatial and social order. Complaining about religion as noise has offered a valuable strategy both for demarcating the place of particular religious groups and for circumscribing religion's place, more generally, in American public life" (idem). "Most commonly, as noted above, noise complaints have targeted those perceived as outsiders to the dominant community, thereby functioning to marginalize others and restrain dissent" (idem).

Weiner identifies and theorize here the existence of a "liberal project of containment" (p. 7). "Channeling religion into a narrowly circumscribed private realm would protect differences in belief while rendering them increasingly irrelevant" (p. 6). "US courts – interpreted the category of religion in ways that have functioned to domesticate religious enthusiasm and restrain religious dissent. (...) Law has functioned not simply as a neutral arbiter among different religious communities, but as a critical site at which modern notions of suitable religiosity have been constructed, contested, and ultimately ligitimated" (p. 7). "These sonic controversies are thus part of a history of American religion that has been characterized not only by unbounded freedom, creativity, and improvisation, but also by real legal and social constraints, which have served to carefully circumscribe the space in which religion has been able to be preformed" (ibid). "The domestication of religion has remained always a work in progress, requiring ongoing maintenance and policing of boundaries" (p. 8).

Following the cultural historian Peter Bailey (noise, defined as "sound out of place" – after Mary Douglas's definition of dirt as "matter out of place"), Weiner

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also takes over Murray Schafer's concept of "sacred noise", and watches it (at work) in some of its numerous instances. Naturally, the *sacred noise* concept could have been expanded, followed and applied to many other aspects of the North-American social and religious history/life. A well-focused book, it simply decided to ignore many noise-involving cultural aspects (such as the so very Americana named *shapenote singing*[2]). In this book, the author focuses on the legal arena only. "Taken together, the disparate case studies considered here reveal the particular conditions of possibility that have governed how religions have been able to make themselves heard publicly in the US, and they make audible how the varied responses to religion practiced out loud have been shaped by changing social and legal contexts and by broader assumptions about religion's proper place in American life" (p. 15).

The historic cases presented have landmarks such as the church bells large dispute in 1877 Philadelphia and the 2004 debate over the Muslim call for prayer in Hamtramck, Michigan. To them, the Salvation Army's and Jehovah's Witnesses' acknowledged right to speak up publicly, and concurrent obligation to soften their voices' volume, are added, consistent topics. In between, numerous smaller or less vocal cases are well documented from archival sources (public media or personal reminiscences), and backed by interviews and ethnographic research.

Largely discussed here, these uncover and communicate not only "a political history of religious sounds" (p. 15), but also particular facets of American life (society, praxis, law), that were also shaped/reshaped, constructed/contested or legitimized through the contribution of industrialization and technology, urbanization and immigration. Such terms, together with social, cultural and religious pluralism, are not just incidental keywords in this book. On the contrary, they are core, applied concepts, which this book recontextualizes and thus helps to be better understood.

Weiner's book roughly follows a denominational course: the first two chapters (*From Sacred Noise to Public Nuisance*, p. 19–39, and *Church Bells in the Industrial City*, p. 40–76) discuss mostly 19th century cases in which Catholic and Protestant bell-ringing became controversial. The early history of the United States is aptly proved and summarized as a "sacralization of the colonial landscape" (p. 23) – through the spread of church bells (and differentiations in terms of their usage), the Sabbath observance campaigns, and noise limitations during Christian services. The long, minute description of attitudes and speeches delivered in the 1877 Philadelphia court case is thorough and well conducted. "If 19th century noise complaints functioned as an important index of class differences, most typically directed at the sounds of racial, ethnic, and religious *others*, then it seems surprising that they should have come to target the ringing of church bells as well" (p. 37).

Chapter Three jumps to recent times, presenting the 1991 Beaufort case that led to the restraining of the freedom to preach loudly on urban streets, sidewalks, plazas and parks. In fact, that case only introduces chapters Three, Four and Five

[2] See my notes on the functional intensity within this tradition (Marian-Bălaşa 2003, 2005).

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(*A New Regulatory Regime, Sound Car Religion and the Right to be Left Alone, A New Constitutional World and the Illusory Ideal of Neutrality*, p. 79–97, 98–135, 139–157), in which the author takes on the public tribulations against the too-intensively vocal forms of self-promoting of some newer religions and organizations (Salvation Army, Jehovah's Witnesses and ISKON/Hare Krishna movement). Social events and court cases from the late 19th century throughout the 20th are presented, these movements, professing a public preaching that "was unabashedly loud, aggressive, and inflammatory" (p. 81), being identified as clearly contesting/dissenting. "If the previous chapters demonstrated how American law could discipline even the auditory practices of the social elite, then these chapters examine how religious dissenters have used noise to make space for alternative forms of public piety" (p. 81–82). Weiner's pages on the shocking sounds of the Salvationists are very sharp and insightful, as in fact are all those taking on the social, cultural and political targets and meanings of noisy religious promotion and jubilation. The last of these chapters expands the topic to debates that rose up once loudspeakers, electric amplifiers and radio broadcasts took over streets, open air, public spaces and captive/unwilling audiences.

Chapter 6, *Calling Muslims – and Christians – to Pray* (p. 158–194), finally and expectedly takes on the larger otherness/alterity represented by Islam (within the alleged "ocean of Christianity"), as this is epitomized by the muezzin's calls to prayer, regularly broadcasted through loudspeakers from mosques. In this case, the unending/unappeasable dissatisfaction of mainstream/dominant citizenry with the non-discrete presence and affirmation of minor/unfamiliar religions can have significant overtones. The author is keen in noticing the mental/attitudinal links between centuries-old claims and discourses (racialization of religion?) and more recent situations, in other words the contemporariness of old-times dissatisfactions and expectations, and the continuing insufficiency of compromises. Indeed, although it is obvious that one has to deal here with two different, non-competing religious institutions (Catholic and Muslim), since it seems that the issue at stake was auricular violation (as accused by one side), anything like cohabitation and integration would be definitely undermined. Pluralism, a cornerstone/fundamental concept of North-American civilization (democracy, spirituality, etc.), was challenged here; and the judicial solution, while favorable to the Muslim community, did not insure that public aural perception, as well as emotional and mental positioning, would turn harmonious. Weiner, however, surpasses any dual or comparative analysis of the two constituencies (in terms of putting face-to-face two distinct religions or attitudes and their separate/independent consistencies). Instead, he wisely discusses the capacity of the State itself (law and administration included) to constantly reshape its authority, remap and reinscribe boundaries, accommodate new identities, and protect all civic rights and freedoms. I really thing that this chapter could be a good class reading for all contemporary students (not only in the humanities): it provides a needed reflection on how to live

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(survive/live well?) in close proximity with the generalized heterogeneity and domestic otherness that characterize any societal fabric nowadays.

Evoking the case of a Hasidic sect in Florida, Weiner begins his *Conclusions* (p. 195–207) with the question, "Does spirituality have to be so noisy? Does religion have to be so loud?" This was, in fact, the pretext claimed in all the book's historical cases, which, in fact, never limited themselves to blame religions for noise only. Political desires for control and containment of any difference were always present, and always the solution was for people to rather change their mindset and embrace diversity, to perceive/interpret noise as polyphony and loudness or discomfort as relative.

Religion Out Loud... is one of the most consistent books in cultural studies. As already stressed, though the focus of Weiner's book is the US's history (thus, the book is monographic in an ethnographic way), the issues around noisy religious practices are universal. Hence, this book is an admirable and obligatory reference for scholars, and an exemplary academic performance for cultural studies on any region.

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Marin MARIAN-BĂLAŞA

Nicolae Panea, *Oraşul subtil* [The Subtle City]. Bucureşti: Editura Etnologică, 2013. 240 p. ISBN 978–973–8920–60–6

As the author emphasizes in both his introduction and concluding pages, this book continues and somehow finalizes his empathic, voyeuristic, subjective and poetic anthropology of the urban objects and space, that he first launched in a book titled *Zeii de asfalt* [The Asphalt Gods][1]. In a first chapter, *Despre subtilitate* [Of Subtlety], he graciously navigates between bibliographical references, quotations and anthropologists' bits of contribution to the radical shaping/emancipation of

[1] Bucureşti: Cartea Românească, 2001.

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postmodern anthropology. Closer to the European paradigms of anthropological thinking, he duly acknowledges the North-American anthropological performances or peaks, yet supporting the Anti-American current/game of Eurocentric dissociation and emancipation (the later calling the former [post]colonial, hegemonic, and... "Elephant"). In this respect, professor Nicolae Panea, however, despite his will to autochthonize into the Romanian scholarship at least the West-European literature, is not at all a shallow/mimetic militant. He does not only make a bridge by his own thinking and writing, but stretches the discipline's paradigms by showing/performing a consistent power of observation, interpretation, and creative/inspiring (literary) description. His writing talent makes the reading of his books fascinating.

Apart from a long zigzag among anthropological contributions that either inspired or backed up his own work, Nicolae Panea also redefine his field, adapts and enlarge the concept of fieldwork (travel is here well included), as well as the one of fieldworker, observer, participatory/empathic anthropologist. He demonstrates that his method represents a natural development of other recent anthropological views and contributions, thus aptly individualizing and legitimizing himself. Briefly said, his own contribution – as proved in this book – is based on a subtle – I would say charismatic – way of watching (though wondering/walking/travelling) the life of a/any town/city; i.e., the performance of a refined look upon the marginal, secondary, easy-too-miss aspects of the human existence/civilization within cityscapes. Panea scans the reality as he would fracture light and pixels, then describes it at length as Impressionists did.

Chapter 2, *Mirosul* [The Smell], surveys the presence and roles of odors (from perfume to stench) in shaping a both persistent and evanescent town persona. Summarizing, here it is about how scents configure a city's culture and identify, whereas humans integrate themselves inside such fields unawarely (yet critically) contributing to them. Panea takes over the idea of a scent chart of (any) town (and expands it elaborating the idea of space identity codes). He identifies town districts characterized by specific odors imposed by various factories, and discusses several territorial odors (the peripheral vs. downtown) that also are created by cultural/leisure-time behaviors (in terms such as real/illusionary solidarity, power-play/domination). I will extract here only one quote, indicative for the large expands of the author's analyses, more often than not going far away (and deeper) into connecting facts and meanings:

"I affirm that the way in which these neighborhoods [crowded block of flats – my note, MMB] made out of the garbage deposit place a sort of center, [plus] the lack of architectural identity, the monotony, the uniformity, have all generated this space anomaly. What should have been marginal, hidden, became central, referential. Garbage, i.e. the leftovers, the useless, the rotten, the spoiled, the putrid, dejections, in one word the death, became [here] signs of a life space ordering. (...) Raised in the garbage stench, the new generation socializes around the garbage platform, learning in between blocks of flats lessons about inequality

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and segregation, about violence and intolerance, having as models the packs of stray dogs, which, after vanquishing the fear they [dog packs] inspired, learned how to chase them, frustrated and full of complexes, and imposes the values of blind, diffuse violence that belong to the *manele*[-singing] culture, that which divides the worlds in rich and poor, friends and enemies, in sweethearts and stinkers [= sluts]" (p. 91, 91–92).

Hence, apart from garbage and industrial smells, we find here sharp pages on hookers and ladies, dogs and cats, female/male perfumes, detergents, smoking, cooking aromas and customs, all performed not only individually, but socially as well as in the diffuse/confuse worlds of the (cultural formatted) imagination. There are professional and social smells (bankers vs. homeless, housewives vs. drunkards), the smells of anthropological alterity (foreigners, tourists), and the smells of all/particular buildings (houses vs. malls), mainly the smell of the old (the totemic/fetishist "old/oldness", I would paraphrase) or of the new.

Chapter 3, *Gunoiul de aur* [The Golden Garbage], comes naturally after the pages devoted to smell, for the way people look at, despise, dispose off or hide residues, leftovers and rotten goods is more than indicative, it is revealing for many mental frames and cultural gestures that often surpass awareness and discourse. Like in all chapters, the observer/storyteller refers only to the Romanian, specific urban economies, policies, structures and behaviors, thus ignoring more spectacular aspects in foreign metropolis, yet exemplifying a local, (post)modern anthropologist's job, and reporting on a developing society that is no longer to be seen/studied in many other places.

The research presented here is rich not only by its novelty, but also for it refers to the specific/typical dwelling systems developed in communist countries (block of flats, staircases, small yards/playgrounds and common basements, garbage platform that was common to many such block-apartments). Whereas the psychology, sensitivity and the daily life routines of adults and school children, as well as the association between garbage, night, fear, violence, vulgarity, and the youngsters' grouping, are here profound, subtle, exemplary.

Chapter 4, *Urechea lui Dionysos. Zgomotul* [The Ear of Dionysus: the Noise], offers attentive observations on the growing – yet unacknowledged – familiarity of people with more and more complex noise contents and sources. Of course, there is here not a mere ethnography of sounds and noises, but here we find more of a philosophizing on the social meanings – and their dynamics – which make the living with noise an immanent, typical/iconic paradigm. Panea surveys the social, human/anthropological re-designing of time segments (morning, midday, evening, night) by the specific acoustic/aural stimuli, thus the acoustic/aural rhythms and calendar in which the urban dwellers constantly live in.

Thus, he notices and interprets not only the noise of the current city (people's shoutings, speaking, telephoning, plus cars and construction or cleaning machines), but also the time frames and periods that segments seasons and people (in moments

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of feasts or vacations), as well as the concerts and festivals the municipality offers to citizens to please and control/master their mental states and mentalities. In terms of religious sound, Panea refers only to church instruments (such as bells), and referring to the traditional/rural/folk ways of performing the magic, ritual and ceremonial forms, he analyses the contemporary urban wedding. On *Zgomotul ca reflectare a crizei* [Noise as reflecting the crisis], he talks about the peoples' fighting cries and other noises coming from the periodicity of private crises, the police sirens (overlooking the firemen's ones), which, Panea subtly argues, "suggests the inclusion of the city in a cosmic circuit" (of a sort that not even the church is not capable of achieving, as those critical sounds do, Nicolae Panea notices). He also analyses the sounds of birth and of death (glossing on the communication and learning sounds emitted by newborns, on lullabies, then on the many – mostly modern – sounds accompanying/supporting the funeral processions). Then he talks about the noisy passing of ambulances (and the sense of human inclusion and solidarity that they mediate in the public), about the madmen cries, the noise of traffic gems, and of the protest meetings and marches.

Chapter 5 (*Bulevardul* [The Boulevard]) goes like a smooth story – quite rich one – on how rural alleys, fences and gates (of yore, of course) performed/permitted human communication and association, hospitality (and other sentiments and values), whereas long and large, contemporary boulevards, their roundabouts and artificial (small) green space, full of car traffic and noises, channeling the swallowing and the rejection of humans, are lacking individual, subjective, self-identifying reference to dwellers, *prommeneurs*, passers-by. Elliptic as it is, this chapter must be taken as one of the most sensitive (and subtle) – to me, the best, if not the unique – intellectual story, or like a beautifully guided *prommenade*, devoted to such a subject (the boulevard).

Nicolae Panea's brief *Concluzii sau despre ierarhiile secundarului* [Conclusions: on the Hierarchies of the Secondarity] also has a useful English version (p. 213–220).

Throughout the entire book there is a constant comparison between rural and urban, past and present, often in favor of the former and disfavoring the later, an idealizing of the rural, past settlements, customs, behaviors and meanings in parallel with a merciless judgment of the recent/present urban structuring and sentiments. Though this plead might be, at least sometimes, accurate and appropriate, some interpretations and reasoning go slightly too much in tone with an outdated, past-oriented/past-praising attitudes (for there surely were also in the traditional, rural settings and mentalities unhappy needs, circumstances, wants or failures; while, on the other hand, the modern town/city should not always be scorned for its kitschy tries to catch up with values and genuine joys, as well as for its ways to retrieve/revival bits of the sacred). Anyway, the simplistic division rural/traditional/good/superior/sacred vs. urban/artificial/bad/kitchy/profane is surely a tribute to the conventional/official folkloristics and ethnology that the author comes from. And besides, or at least, he does it with some grace.

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The above fact and observation notwithstanding, it is worthy of notice that, with Nicolae Panea, that duality/opposition becomes stylistic and stylish. It furnishes a tension that makes the author to be energetic and fertile in his interpretation and writing. *Orașul subtil* [The Subtle City] is an exceptional book, full of insight and wisdom. Throughout all its pages, more often than not, there are small paragraphs that say or just suggest much more than full chapters would do. Thus, the book inspires, and leaves very much space for follow-ups. Positively, it deserves an international translation (demanding/challenging enterprise!) and wider distribution.

It is a pity the English readership does not know Nicolae Panea, as he is a very particular writer of the post–2000 scholarly culture in Romania. He masters not only the French (let's say, the most influential West-European) academic literature, but also was inspired by the schools of thought that turned academic writing into an intellectually sharp, hedonistic, graceful, literary, speculative, somehow festive endeavor. He writes both clear/accurate and creatively (demipoetic/metaphoric at times), turning the reading into an uplifting pleasure. Reason why I sincerely consider he should become more influential to – at least – local anthropologists, ethnologists, experts in all sort of cultural studies.

Marin MARIAN-BĂLAȘA

Mirel Bănică, *Nevoia de miracol. Fenomenul pelerinajelor în România contemporană* [The Need for Miracle: the Pilgrimage Phenomenon in Contemporary Romania]. Iași: Editura Polirom, 2014. 426 p., ISBN 978–973–46–4486–5

There are many reasons why Mirel Bănică's most recent book may be said to have appeared in a fortunate context. Ever since the 90's, the pilgrimage – massive, both irritating and impressive display of public religiosity – has enjoyed the full attention of the local media, gradually becoming an issue that called for a rigorous examination, at least in the eyes of the Romanian intelligentia. Also, for the academic community within the humanities, the phenomenon has gained the aura that encapsulates answers to delicate questions such as the dynamics of the Romanian religious field or the local religious identity. On the other hand, the subject presents a kind of fascination of an esoteric world, of a different Romania within everyday Romania – strange, mystic, anachronistic, with the power to mobilize thousands of believers, from all social strata, in a total religious event that once more proves the inconsistency of the secularization theories and reaffirms the validity of the Bergerian *de-secularization of the world* or of the Eliadian *homo religious* perspectives. Seen against this background, Mirel Bănică's work appears as one of the most interesting surprises in the academic year of 2014, however an expected surprise since the *erwartungshorizont*, as Hans Robert Jauss would put it, was ready for it. Naturally, it was well received and almost unanimously

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appreciated with superlative praises. From the very beginning, I too want to emphasize that it is indeed a challenging book, written with passion, on a fascinating theme.

The Need for Miracle is organized in two unequal sections: a massive one, containing field notes and brief, punctual comments over recorded data from no less than 20 pilgrimages in which the author participated between 2009 and 2013 (pp. 1–309), and a second one, dedicated to theoretical reflection (pp. 309–407).

Remarkable indeed is the descriptive effort mobilized for the first section. The investigation is carried out by the author in the manner of *narrative ethnography*, fully assuming the subjectivity of the researcher, without bracketing or neglecting his emotions, axiological attitudes, discriminatory reflexes and literary impulses, since they are, in the final analysis, parts of the "object" – as constructed and imagined by the researcher. Mirel Bănică is anything but a passive observer. He joined the pilgrimage lines, helped different benefactors who freely distributed food amongst pilgrims, engaged in conversations with pilgrims for hours, by day and by night, with priests, monks, policemen, salesmen, beggars, Rroma people; he helped old ladies, got arrested by the undercover police for his suspect behavior (discretely taking notes, photographing etc.). In short, he did everything recommended by the old school of anthropology under the title of participant observation/qualitative research, fully exposing himself to the ritual. As usual, the profit of this attitude is immense. Since the author feels free to often surrender to his artistic impulses, I myself can say that he produces the impression of a huge itinerant eye trained to see the hidden/unobvious of a sensitive instance assaulted by various feelings (he cries together with pilgrims over their stories, but also experiences moments of beatitude similar to those of Alyosha Karamazov) and perceptions: smells the mixture of chrism, exotic oriental aromas and the reek of pilgrims, tastes the ritual food (*sarmale*), hears the prayers, the religious songs intonated by the pilgrims or propagated by the loudspeakers from the nearby churches, touches the relics and experiences the scrimmage of the pilgrim line, senses the heat of the summer and the bitter cold of the winter, everything taken in as parts of the pilgrimage event and details. In the same time they are just as many extensions of the "object".

The pilgrims are observed from the moment they set on the journey to the pilgrimage destination, all along through the pilgrim-line and afterwards, so that Mirel Bănică possesses the data for a complete picture of the phenomenon. In accordance with the universal ritual schemas, the identity of the believer changes once one enters the pilgrim-line. This act inaugurates the temporary suspension of one's identity and offers the possibility to construct a provisory identity. The waiting line itself becomes a huge mechanism with its own self-imposed rules and identity, as opposed both to the non-participants and also to the individual, non-ritual identity. A temporary sense of solidarity begins to manifest, explained in Turnerian terms (*comunitas*), a sense of togetherness that transcends social status,

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age and other limits. One of the most important aspects of any pilgrimage is the necessity of the effort, even of the suffering, prior to the moment of touching the relics. The entire journey is about certain pilgrim virtues and attitudes that are to be displayed in order to access/demonstrate the pilgrim identity, virtues that have to do with generosity, acceptance, endurance etc. Besides the physical distance that is to be covered in patience, the pilgrimage is also about the exploration of the self.

Many subtle observations are made on the issue of the *double construction* of the pilgrimage. The force and success of such an event has to do with a double effort: an *institutional* one, *intentional*, fathered by the Church and its elites, and a *vernacular* one, *non-intentional*, added by the pilgrims' personal contributions. The study of this dualism is another main target of the book. The atmosphere created *ad-hoc* – a mixture of oriental aromas, prayers, religious chanting by people, or coming from the church, amplified by omnipresent speakers, ritual food, salesmen, beggars insufflating mercy, icons, sacred places, tombs, relics, old objects etc. – turns the event into a huge "ritual machine" whose results and products are hard to anticipate or control. Anyway, it creates the conditions for a certain perception/experience of the sacred, undoubtedly one that extends its limits far beyond the institutional prescriptions. This non-institutional determination of the pilgrimage is to be seen in a number of details, such as the objects and books sold in the area where the event takes place. *New age* literature, all kinds of bio-products, crystals with supernatural energies, local/private heroes or saints not yet sanctified by the Church but recommended as real saints in a dissident attitude towards the central authority, all these issues are mixed and assumed without any contradiction or paradoxical attitude in a common body of beliefs. The pilgrimage is also a place where one can observe the tension between center and margin from within the church body: priests vs. monks with passionate eschatological discourse, powerful country prophets vs. believers with charisma and special sacred experiences, Rroma religiosity, distinct in the context of the pilgrimage, yet visiting the same church/saint, and displaying different customs, etc. Also, the tensions from the local religious field are to be seen at work in such contexts, since the priests' authority is discretely challenged by the other religious actors who create a "black market of religious goods and services". That is why such vast complexity cannot be understood otherwise but from the field.

Mirel Bănică notices that the way in which local media depicts the pilgrimage's details from this ocean of facts indicates only the agenda by which reporters approach the phenomenon. The media just wants to confirm and to re-construct one and the same perspective over the pilgrimage: decently dressed, silent, pious, praying, displaying a humble posture, yet happy and optimist. In response to this, the pilgrims themselves give the reporters what they seek to find: when the TV cameras appear, they artificially change their behavior and act as an "exemplary pilgrim". Indeed, the presence of the TV reporters functions as a sort of "identity intensifier", since everybody begins "to act as a pilgrim", but the

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gestures, the acts, the words are dictated by the well known expectances of reporters.

Compared to the vast complexity of problems identified in the field, the second section of the book, dedicated exclusively to pilgrimage theory, is rather pale and somehow disappointing. It doesn't contain a systematic analysis, but the exploration of some relations identified in the field between pilgrimage and various realities: tourism, economy, media, Rroma religiosity, politics etc., relations which, in fact, extend the common perception of the object. The chapters dedicated to the feminine in the pilgrim context, to the opposition popular/"official" religion (author's emphasis), to the *pilgrim line* or to the pilgrimage atmosphere, marked by music, smells and food, are among the most interesting, even if they all transmit the impression of unfinished/provisional or introductory notes. It is true that this attitude is assumed from the very beginning, as the whole book is offered as an introduction to the study of the pilgrimage phenomenon, but even so one would expect a more systematic account.

If a reasonable reader might easily overlook certain facile style exercises that spring out of the liberties of the narrative ethnography method, a number of simplistic judgments and severe axiological attitudes remain problematic. For example, the comments about the "secularized modern man" often occurring throughout the book betray a simplistic thinking and a constant tendency towards oppositional categories and hierarchies. The employment of a certain artistic tone in the making of categories of pilgrims often displays discriminatory attitudes, arbitrary solidarities. Also, there are some unbelievable comments that contain *cvasi*-nationalistic and vulgar clichés such as the superiority of the Romanian religiosity, Romania as the spiritual center of Europe and of the world, Romania as a space that still preserves genuine religiosity as opposed to the secular West and so on. Naturally, these ideas are expressed as *field notes*, *field impressions*, and appear in the book as an act of "honesty", assumed as such. However, the ambiguity lies in the undefined character of these statements: as author's general *judgments* motivated by a contextual revelation or as *feelings* generated by the atmosphere of the place. Either way, they remain unfortunate occurrences. And, to conclude with less acceptable statements, I would add a harsh critique of Protestantism which, said the author textually, "has eliminated the very idea of miracle from the societies where it prospered" (p. 369), which is the reiteration of a cultural cliché that has nothing to do with post-doctoral anthropology. Philip M. Soergel in *Miracles and the Protestant Imagination* (2012), to name just one title, demonstrates quite the opposite.

Moreover, in the first section, a number of remarks and observations with less obvious relevance occur. The author intends to give an example of how to construct the object of research, and he indeed produces a considerable extension of the object, but he often fails to offer the correlations between the elements he gathered. Mirel Bănică sees enormously, but analyses little. Inevitably, a *hermeneutics*

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of charity is called to deal with such places. From this point of view, the book presents an obvious imbalance between the generous descriptive effort and the analytical fortitudes.

Quite curious is the conceptual frame used by the author when dealing with the delicate issue of the pilgrimage religiosity. Although the field realities seem to strongly recommend the abandonment of the official/popular religion dichotomy, which is very well sensed by the author, as he himself uses the word "official" with the comas of skepticism, he continues to cultivate this dichotomy (which inevitably leads to unfortunate and risky statements such as the discrimination between different kinds of religiosity on ideological grounds). The problem accompanies all studies that still use this dichotomy, because the terms themselves, with their entire ideological heritage, place the realities referred to in problematic relations. A more fortunate alternative would have been Leonard Primiano's concept of *vernacular religion*, which dissolves the opposition and focuses on *lived religion*, eliminating the need for artificial/hybrid constructs to account for pilgrim religiosity, such as that of synthesis/mixture between official religion and popular religion.

One of the most important accomplishments of Mirel Bănică's work is that he emphasizes the fundamental dimension of materiality in the context of pilgrimage religiosity. He practically prepared the field for a mandatory analysis from the perspective of *material religion*, in the spirit of David Morgan and Birgit Meyer. The author is very much aware of this dimension, that is why he addresses this issue in what I find to be the most interesting chapter of the book (*The Pilgrimage Atmosphere. Music, Smells, Food*, pp. 388–398), besides his insightful remarks about the status and function of materiality throughout the book. Romanians and the whole Eastern Orthodox world strongly emphasize materiality, and important historians such as Nicolae Iorga explained the failure of the protestant mission in Transylvania in relation to this issue: Romanians didn't like protestant austerity, and didn't want to change a sensible religion for an intelligible one. On the other hand, materiality enjoys a strong support in orthodox theology – Maximus the Confessor and Dionysius the Areopagite are only two names at hand who conceived theologies of materiality. The relics, the music, the ritual food, the icons, the ritual places, the care for different materialities which are to be exposed to the sacred – all demonstrate that materiality is not an element that only participates to religiosity or which helps the manifestation of intellectual/spiritual contents, rather is something that has to do with the very essence of the religious experience. Without it, religious experience is unconceivable and only through their existence religious experience can be a complete/total event, involving the whole being. The sacred is materialized and becomes analyzable because of its material expressions.

Mirel Bănică's book is rich in suggestions, in subtle observations, and intelligent questions – just as many challenges for further research. The complexity of the collected data is an invitation to a more comprehensive understanding of the

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object. In the same time, it contains a methodological challenge: to re-evaluate the benefits and the risks of *narrative ethnography*. To paraphrase Susan Sontag's famous essay of 1966, I would say that Mirel Bănică has given us more of *an erotics of the pilgrimage*, than of *a hermeneutics of the pilgrimage*. Nevertheless, he has placed himself in the position to offer, whenever he considers appropriate, a truly comprehensive *hermeneutics* of the pilgrimage.

Mircea PĂDURARU

Silvia Marin-Barutcieff, *Hristofor: chipurile unui sfânt fără chip* [Christophe: les visages d'un saint sans visage]. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2014. 391 p., ISBN 978-606-543-439-4

Ce livre a été à l'origine une thèse de doctorat défendue en 2007. Son sujet est l'image, dans les textes religieux et l'iconographie, du Saint Christophe, un des martyres chrétiens célébrés également par les catholiques (du moins jusqu'au milieu du XXème siècle) et les orthodoxes, malgré le fait que son existence réelle soit mise sous le signe du doute. La raison en sont les attributs fantastiques dont Christophe apparaît investi, dès ses premières apparitions dans les narrations de sa vie. Le saint est présenté comme un géant, un ogre ou un cynocéphale (corps humain, tête de chien), donc un anthropophage qui se convertit au christianisme et souffre le martyre au nom du Christ. Cette apparence fantastique, observe l'auteure, est de nature à occulter les données qui permettraient de découvrir son existence réelle. Il n'est pas sûr qu'un martyre du nom Christophe ait vraiment existé, car c'est les données puisant dans le fantastique et dans le folklore (même la légende d'après laquelle il a porté l'enfant Jésus Christ à travers une rivière) qui sont trop prégnantes dans sa biographie et qui finalement, au XXème siècle, ont mené à son exclusion du calendrier catholique universel des saints (son existence étant tolérée désormais seulement dans les calendriers locaux, cf. p. 27).

L'étude est structurée en trois parties et une annexe contenant des anciens textes roumains qui consignent l'histoire du Saint Christophe et un tableau où l'on présente la présence et la typologie des images du saint dans les églises orthodoxes et catholiques, tout comme sa présence dans les images occidentales laïques. Toujours dans les annexes on trouve aussi un riche matériel iconographique, provenant de l'Occident, aussi bien que du sud-est de l'Europe et notamment des pays roumains, matériel utile pour l'analyse et l'interprétation iconographique du personnage.

La première partie présente et analyse l'apparition de Saint Christophe dans les plus anciens textes, tous ayant la prétention d'historicité, dans les hagiographies légendaires et les témoignages de miracles accomplis par ses reliques. Il est possible, dit l'auteure, que le personnage réel qui se cache derrière la figure du saint fût un soldat roman provenu d'une région périphérique de l'Empire Romain,

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peut-être du nord de l'Afrique; il est possible, aussi, qu'il ait été d'abord un prisonnier, enrôlé ensuite dans une formation militaire romaine, la Cohors Marmaritarum, et qu'il ait subi le martyre en Alexandrie, au début du IVème siècle ap. J.C. Ces suppositions historiques, consignées par Silvia Marin-Barutcieff, contredisent d'ailleurs les textes anciens, dans lesquels on dit que Christophe, un géant anthropophage ou cynocéphale, fut martyrisé par l'empereur romain Decius (dont le nom devient Dechie dans les anciennes traductions en roumain) pendant la deuxième moitié du IIIème siècle ap. J.C.

L'analyse des textes antiques indique la manière où, très probablement, l'origine réelle du personnage a été occultée par des éléments fantastiques, dont on doit chercher l'origine dans l'interprétation littérale de ses données biographiques. Par exemple, son incapacité d'avoir accès au langage paraît un reflet du fait que le personnage réel ne connaissait pas le latin. Néanmoins, sa stature gigantesque et la tête bestiale, si ce n'est pour souligner le fait qu'il est un étranger, restent dans ce livre sans aucune explication, fait qui laisse le lecteur sur sa soif.

Silvia Marin-Barutcieff étudie les manières où Christophe est présenté dans le monde catholique et dans le monde orthodoxe, comparant les ressemblances et les différences, essayant de mettre en évidence les différentes facettes du personnage choisies par un culte ou un autre. Les raisons de son adoption du christianisme – qui seraient, après les sources, soit le fait qu'il désire servir l'être le plus puissant au monde, soit son désespoir devant les guerres et les crimes, soit la conversion de sa nature bestiale dans celle d'un théophage (par l'accès à l'eucharistie) et théophore – et sa mort en martyre, qui consacre son appartenance au christianisme, sont présentées dans tous les textes, quelle que soit leur aire d'expansion. Ces textes diffèrent entre eux par le fait qu'il y en a quelques-uns qui mettent l'accent plutôt sur la stature gigantesque du saint (les sources circulant dans le monde catholique), tandis que d'autres (dans le monde orthodoxe) retiennent surtout sa nature bestiale, non-humaine. Quand même, bien des sources, soient-elles occidentales ou orientales (qui comprennent aussi des sources éthiopiennes ou égyptiennes), retiennent la tête de chien ou ressemblant à celle d'un chien.

Silvia Marin-Barutcieff analyse aussi le nom porté par le personnage avant sa conversion. Les textes retiennent l'appellation Reprobatus (devenue Reprev en roumain), qui signifie en latin *Le Damné*. L'auteure remarque à juste titre que, tout comme Christophe n'est pas vraiment un nom, mais une épithète marquant la qualité théophorique du saint, de même, Reprobatus est une épithète dont la signification s'oppose à celle du nom chrétien. Cela veut dire que ce n'est pas seulement l'image corporelle du saint qui est sujet aux interprétations. On se trouve devant un saint qui n'est même pas homme (et qui ne reçoit son attribut humain – la capacité de parler – qu'après la conversion) et qui porte des epithètes pour de noms.

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A part les textes qui présentent un géant/ogre terrifiant, domestiqué et humanisé par la croyance, il y en a un autre, une légende consignée au mont Athos, où Christophe est décrit comme un jeune homme d'une apparence très attirante qui prie Dieu de l'enlaidir, pour ne pas être tenté de pécher, et la divinité lui donne alors une tête de chien.

L'auteure analyse aussi le martyre et le pouvoir des reliques du saint, sur lesquelles se basent les attributions et compétences pour lesquelles Christophe bénéficiera d'un culte pendant tout le Moyen Age et même après. Il s'agit du pouvoir de protéger contre la mort et surtout contre la mort soudaine (due, en essence, à la peste) et du pouvoir de protéger les voyageurs, pouvoir qui paraît lui être conféré par sa qualité de théophore. De nouveau, une analyse plus nuancée serait bienvenue.

Dans la deuxième partie de son livre, Silvia Marin-Barutcieff analyse la présence du saint dans la culture populaire. L'usage de ce syntagme me paraît un peu ambigu, car l'auteure comprend par cela les reflets du saint dans le folklore, tout comme dans les légendes théologiques (telle la *Légende dorée*). Elle compare le saint avec d'autres figures qui refusent la beauté, telle Sainte Wilgefortis ou Sainte Barbare. En essayant de comprendre la nature du saint cynocéphale, elle rapporte des similitudes, des reflets mythiques qui vont jusqu'à la comparaison – faite par Pierre Saintyves (1924) ou par Bede Millard (1987) – avec Anubis, le dieu psychopompe égyptien, représenté avec une tête de chien. Malheureusement pour l'étude, l'auteure ne va pas plus loin, se contentant seulement de mentionner ces pistes.

En ce qui concerne la relation avec le folklore, elle est d'autant plus importante que, pour déceler les origines du personnage, Silvia Marin-Barutcieff prend en compte non seulement les ogres (êtres bestiaux, figurés comme des hommes à tête de chien dans les livres populaires, tels *Le Roman d'Alexandre*, et dans les bestiaires de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age), mais aussi les hommes sauvages (les hommes des forêts). Pourtant, bien que ceux-ci soient pris en compte pour leurs similitudes avec Saint Christophe, le sauvage apprivoisé, l'auteure n'approfondit pas l'analyse, qui pourrait bien mener à d'autres figures de sauvages orientaux, tels Enkidu, qui passe par un processus similaire d'humanisation (bien que dans le cas d'Enkidu c'est une prostituée qui est un agent de l'apprivoisement, tandis que c'est Christophe qui va humaniser les prostituées envoyées pour le corrompre, pour le faire retourner à sa nature bestiale).

Silvia Marin-Barutcieff termine le compte-rendu des apparitions du saint dans la culture populaire en rappelant le fait que dans le monde catholique, Saint Christophe est inclus dans un groupe connu sous le nom de Quatorze Saints Auxiliaires ou Auxiliateurs. Dans ce groupe, ses qualités essentielles sont de combattre la peste (dans le monde orthodoxe roumain, cette attribution revient au Saint Charalampe de Magnésie) et de protéger les voyageurs. Cette dernière qualité, puisant dans la *Légende dorée*, se retrouve aussi chez les orthodoxes.

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Dans la troisième partie du livre, Silvia Marin-Barutcieff analyse, enfin, les représentations iconographiques du Saint Christophe, à l'aide de bien des images, la plupart photographiées par l'auteure dans des églises roumaines. Je confesse que j'ai été très impressionnée par le nombre, la richesse et la qualité de toutes ces images, dont quelques-unes sont vraiment surprennantes, découvertes peut-être «à ses risques et périls». L'auteure trace l'histoire des images du saint dans l'Occident et l'Orient chrétien, dès les premiers siècles ap. J.C., observant que l'Occident a choisi l'image du géant de la *Légende dorée*, qui porte Christ à travers les eaux, et a totalement oublié l'homme à tête de chien.

Mais, quand l'auteure analyse l'image de Christophe dans l'Orient orthodoxe, elle rapporte qu'on y rencontre plusieurs types de représentations: d'un côté, les images conformes avec la *Légende dorée*, où le saint est l'anthropomorphe porteur du Christ, et de l'autre, celles dans lesquelles le saint est juste un peu surdimensionné, portant ou non une tête d'animal, portant ou non Jésus Christ sur ses épaules. L'origine des représentations iconiques du personnage dans l'espace roumain (et orthodoxe en général) se trouve dans l'iconographie ecclésiastique grecque, tout comme dans les indications consignées dans les erminies grecques, dont plusieurs ont été traduites et ont circulé aussi dans les pays roumains. L'image du saint à tête d'animal, confondu parfois avec le diable même (p. 204), est conforme avec ses données biographiques, telles qu'elles apparaissent dans les légendes et dans les vies des saints.

A part la prévalence de la représentation cynocéphale du saint, l'auteure remarque aussi que, dans les églises des provinces roumaines, la tête de chien (ou peut-être de loup) est remplacée bien des fois par une tête d'agneau (pp. 209–213) ou même, dans deux ou trois cas, d'une tête ressemblant à celle d'un cheval. Cette transformation du chien en agneau est expliquée dans cette étude par le fait que, de cette manière, le personnage saint est apprivoisé d'avantage, car les traits bestiaux sont rapprochés ainsi de ceux du Christ (le renvoi à l'agneau de Dieu étant évident). Il faut dire aussi que cette image d'un saint à tête d'agneau n'est pas singulière dans le folklore roumain, car Silvia Marin-Barutcieff rappelle une légende roumaine du Saint Jean Chrysostome, dont on dit avoir reçu une tête de mouton pour ne pas céder aux tentations de la chair (p. 122).

Toujours dans l'espace roumain, constate l'auteure, on rencontre même des images du saint représenté avec une double figure, moitié homme, moitié canide. Elles correspondent parfaitement à l'image de l'ogre (le cynocéphale anthropophage) du folklore roumain (pp. 207–209). Il va de soi, donc, de voir l'ogre du folklore comme un reflet de l'image du saint vue dans les églises, tout aussi comme cette représentation du saint soit tributaire à l'imaginaire folklorique.

A la fin de ce livre, la conclusion de Silvia Marin-Barutcieff, que nous nous trouvons devant un saint qui occulte son visage pour mieux servir Dieu (p. 241) ou un saint qui est une représentation de la fertilité, preuve en étant son bâton fleuri (p. 242), laisse la place aux débats. En ce qui me concerne, je crois que les

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représentations typiquement roumaines du Saint Christophe, portant une tête d'agneau ou de mouton, méritent un volume séparé, qui mette mieux en évidence leur lien avec le filon folklorique qui pourrait être à leur origine. Evidemment, l'auteure l'affirme bien, la source première se trouve dans les textes religieux, mais on ne peut pas ignorer les légendes roumaines conformément auxquelles le mouton/agneau est un animal pur, sacré, dont le diable ne peut emprunter le corps.

Silvia Marin Barutcieff a parsemé partout dans le texte des suggestions qui peuvent s'avérer autant de nouvelles directions pour les recherches à suivre. La richesse des documents visuels et le matériel bibliographique présentés font de ce volume un instrument de travail bien efficient et le recommandent pour les chercheurs qui vont étudier la figure d'un saint excentrique.

Florența POPESCU-SIMION

Claude Karnoouh, cu ajutorul lui Mihai Pop / aidé de Mihai Pop: *Odiseea bravului soldat Alexa. O cronică rimată a Primului Război Mondial / L'Odyssée du brave soldat Alexa. Une chronique rimée de la Première Guerre Mondiale.* Cu o postfață de Claude Karnoouh: *Prin foc și sabie – sau gândirea* Totale Mobilmachung*-ului și a* Weltbürgerkrieg*-ului la țăranii din Carpați* / Avec un postface de Claude Karnoouh: *Par le fer et le feu ou comment maitriser la* Totale Mobilmachung *et le* Weltbürgerkrieg *chez les paysans des Carpates.* Traducerea din română a *Odiseii bravului soldat Alexa* și a *Verșului lui Bonaparte* de Claude Karnoouh. Traducerea din franceză a notelor, prefeței și postfeței de Teodora Dumitru / Traduction du roumain de *L'Odyssée du brave soldat Alexa* et du *La ballade de Bonaparte* de Claude Karnoouh. Traduction du français des notes, preface et postface par Teodora Dumitru. București: Editura MNLR, s. a. [2013]. 131 p., ISBN 978–973–167–223–6

Voilà un acte de restitution qui mériterait plus que d'être consigné en passant et qui est du à l'anthropologue/sociologue Claude Karnoouh (n. 1940), chercheur présent depuis quelqus décennies en Roumanie, intégré dans la vie sociale, culturelle et scientifique du pays. Il est l'auteur d'études d'analyse sociale[1], qu'on n'a toujours pas reçus avec applaudissements et que certains journalistes ou chroniqueurs, actifs dans la presse écrite et sur les sites de socialisation, ont souvent récusés.

[1] V. par exemple Claude Karnoouh, *Adio diferenței. Eseu asupra modernității târzii* [Adieu à la différence. Essais sur la modernité tardive] (Cluj-Napoca, Editions Dacia, 1994), ou *Inventarea poporului–națiune. Cronici din România și Europa Orientală 1973–2007* [L'invention du peuple–nation. Chroniques de Roumanie et de l'Europe Orientale 1973–2007], traduction (du français en roumain) Teodora Dumitru, préface Sorin Antohi (Cluj-Napoca, Idea Design & Print, 2011).

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Le livre-restitution dont je parle ici représente la première édition (imprimée) d'un cahier manuscrit se trouvant dans la possession de la famille de son auteur, Paul Alexa, du village de Breb, département de Maramureş. Le texte manuscrit a été dactylographié par le grand-fils de l'auteur et déchiffré pour la publication par Claude Karnoouh, à l'aide de Mihai Pop, le grand professeur de folklore de l'Université de Bucarest et en même temps directeur de l'Institut d'Ethnographie et de Folklore de Bucarest. Mihai Pop a été le mentor de Claude Karnoouh, qui, en tant que jeune chercheur, a commencé sous sa direction à connaître le terrain roumain est surtout le Maramureş, «ancien pays» où se trouve le village mythique de Breb, dans lequel, en partant des années '70 du siècle passé, beaucoup de folkloristes, ethnologues et sociologues roumains ou étrangers ont fait leurs recherches. Cela a été possible grâce au fait que tous les chercheurs, roumains ou surtout étrangers, qui manifestaient de l'intérêt pour la sociologie rurale entraient en contact avec Mihai Pop, qui leur indiquait le Maramureş, la région d'où il était venu, lui-aussi, à Bucarest juste après la Première Guerre Mondiale.

L'aventure du cahier manuscrit commence dans les années '70 du siècle passé, plus précisément en 1979, quand le professeur Pătru Paul, du village Breb, offre à «l'étranger» le dactylogramme du texte écrit par son grand-père dans un cahier d'école, après son retour de la Grande Guerre et de la captivité en Russie. La version que l'éditeur français a mise en page respecte le texte dacylographié par le professeur Pătru Paul, rangé en «strophes» découpées et numérotées par rapport avec la pozition des lignes que Paul Alexa avait écrites dans le cahier qui se trouve en possession de sa famille. Malheureusement, le texte édité n'est pas accompagné d'aucune photo du cahier, ni du dactylogramme, ce qui fait impossible toute analyse du processus de «textualisation» qui s'est produit (c'est à-dire la transformation du texte olographe, écrit il y a presque cent ans, dans la «chronique rimée», publié en 2013 par le Musée de la Littérature Roumaine).

Il s'agit de plus de 2.000 vers (qui résultent de la segmentation, d'après le modèle de la versification populaire, des lignes écrites par Alexa *la rând*[2], c'est à-dire ininterrompues, sans pauses, sans ponctuation, sans majuscules, etc.), une construction narrative très ample, qui a donné le droit à Claude Karnoouh de l'appeler une «odysee», une épopée donc, bien que le terme odysee, en tant que nom commun, désigne une histoire de vie pleine d'aventures, un parcours difficile, un «long voyage plein d'aventures; une suite d'aventures imprévues. Vie pleine de péripéties, de changements inattendus» (cf. *Dicţionar enciclopedic* [Dictionnaire

[2] Ici, le sens est de lignes écrites, et non, comme paraît croire l'éditeur – note 244, p. 94, 38b, v. 30, *O carte cu şirurele, de la draga mea muiere* [Une lettre à beaucoup de lignes, envoyée par ma chère femme], de la forme dialectale et diminutivée de *fir* [fil], en Maramureş, bien que, en peu plus loin, il concède qu'il s'agit de «lignes du texte». Les notes linguistiques méritent une discution séparée. (Il faut préciser que – à la différence de la traduction de Claude Karnoouh, qui a fait une traduction littéraire des vers paysans –, dans ce compte-rendu on a opté pour une traduction indépendente, littérale, des vers roumains, due à Florenţa Popescu-Simion.)

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encyclopédique] vol. V, s.v.); c'est ce sens qui paraît avoir été employé dans le titre du livre. A part ce sens, les associations avec les personnages et les places de l'*Odysée* de Homère (Pénélope, Ithaque) sont factices et se trouvent en contradiction avec le sous-titre, donné toujors par l'éditeur: «chronique rimée». Au fond, le texte de Alexa Paul pourrait vraiment être considéré une chronique, si on ne tient pas compte du fait qu'il ne s'agit pas toujours d'un «journal», mais parfois du souvenir, écrit quelque temps après la consommation des faits, des événements auxquels *scrietorul* (l'écrivain) a été témoin. Il faut reconnaître, dans le cas de documents comme celui-ci, il est bien difficile de faire une chronologie stricte. Dans la «chronique rimée» (41 c, v.1–13, et 41 d, v. 1–2), Paul Alexa de Breb, «qui est intelligent» (*care-i mai deştept de cap*) s'attribue la paternité du texte, «choisi» – c'est à-dire sélecté, écrit – «par Alexa Paul». L'auteur précise qu'il a écrit le texte pendant la captivité en Russie. *L'Annexe* en prose, se trouvant à la fin du cahier ne nous donne pas, non plus, plusieurs indices sur le «temps du témoignage», bien qu'on puisse identifier certaines convergences (à comparer, par exemple, la «strophe» 44., v. 1–34, p. 102, et le souvenir en prose, p. 104–106, exercice utile aussi pour comprendre le processus de la «versification»: «Nous sommes arrivés chez le baron vers la fin de l'après-midi et on nous a donné bien à manger, car nous étions très affamés, puisque pendant tout notre voyage en train, pendant 15 jours, on a eu à manger seulement de trois en quatre jours». *În vreo cincisprezece zile/ Căci nu căpătasem pâine/ Făr-câte la patru zile/ Dar nici să mănânci odată bine.../ Şi ne duce către casă/ Într-o pădure frumoasă/ Ne pune pe toţi la masă/ Şi ne dă cină frumoasă* [Pendant une quinzaine de jours/ On na pas eu de pain/ Seulement de quatre en quatre jours/ Et on ne pouvait pas bien manger.../ Et puis on nous a conduit vers la maison/ Dans une belle forêt/ On nous a mis tous à table/ Et nous a servi un joli repas]. Si on compte bien les jours, ils ont quitté le camp de travail russe le 15 octobre 1916, ils ont passé 15 jours en route et, par conséquent, ils sont arrivés chez le «baron Emilian» le 30 octobre 1916, date qui coincide avec celle inscrite à la fin du texte en prose, «l'année 1916». Mais dans le texte apparaîssent aussi des informations concernant les anées 1917–1918, parmi lesquelles celle d'une courte permission, de deux mois, qu'il a eue entre mai et juillet 1918.

L'éditeur Karnoouh a adjoint dans le titre au nom Alexa la caractérisation «brave soldat», qui envoye d'une manière explicite au «brave soldat Švejk», le héros du roman homonyme de Jaroslav Hašek (cf. la *Postface*, où l'éditeur justifie le choix du déterminant par le fait qu'il considère la chronique de Paul Alexa «une digne version rurale du brave soldat Švejk»). Mais dans le «mémorial» du paysan de Maramureş on ne retrouve absolument rien comparable au roman de l'écrivain tchèque (paru en 1932), sinon, peut-être, l'expérience des deux gens dans la Première Guerre Mondiale, en tant que soldats appartenant à deux ethnies différentes, combattant pour le même Empire. Pourtant, le type des écritures, l'attitude envers la guerre et les autorités de l'Etat autrichien, la typologie des personnages, tout cela est différent.

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D'ailleurs, la «chronique rimée» du soldat Paul Alexa se moule sur la forme du «vers populaire roumain chanté» (cf. C. Brăiloiu), le seul connu par «l'écrivain» (dans le sens de «celui qui écrit»), qui était chantre dans son village; Alexa ne connaissait qu'un peu de latin et n'avait pas beaucoup de lectures littéraires[3], à part les livres religieux. D'ailleurs, son univers de vie était limité à son village, comme souligne Karnoouh dans ses notes et dans la postface, qui porte le titre *Prin foc şi sabie – sau gândirea* Totale Mobilmachung-*ului şi a* Weltbürgerkrieg-*ului la ţăranii din Carpaţi* [Par le feu et l'épée – ou la pensée de Totale Mobilmachung et de Weltbürgerkrieg chez les paysans des Carpates] (les deux syntagmes en allemand sont empruntées du penseur allemand Ernest Jünger, v. p. 112–113, notes 272, 273).

Il n'y a pas de doute que le modèle du chant populaire se trouve à la base de cette écriture; beaucoup d'ainsi-dites «strophes», découpées par l'éditeur du texte écrit sans espaces, commencent par la formule *frunză verde* [feuille verte] (typique pour la chanson populaire roumaine): *Frunză verde măr gutui* (1a), *Frunză verde ruptă-n zece* (2a), *Frunză verde măr de fus* (2b), *Frunză verde de-alămâie* (2f, 33), *Frunză verde din făjet* (4), *Frunză verde de mătasă* (5f), etc. etc.

Quant au contenu, celui-ci respecte fidèlement la chronologie des événements réels – le début de la guerre, le recrutement, la séparation de la famille, le départ vers l'unité militaire, le séjour dans la caserne, la courte permission dans le village, le départ vers le front russe, les combats sanglants, l'horreur de la guerre, la détention, le manque de la nourriture, la faim, un leitmotiv des contes de guerre, apaisée de temps en temps avec un «joli repas» (épithète ornant, employé différemment dans de différents contextes, qui équivaut dans ce texte avec *bon*, *rassasiant*, *délicieux*, etc.), le contact avec des militaires (ses supérieurs) appartenant à d'autres nations, qui parlent d'autres langues et sont porteurs de codes culturels qui diffèrent du code de «chez lui»[4] – des épisodes interrompus par d'interludes lyriques, tous ou la plupart «citations» des chansons populaires qui déplorent le fait d'être loin de la maison, à l'armée, des chansons pleines de

[3] Bien que deux vers de la troisième «strophe» (13a, v. 4-5) nous rappellent le poème *Peneş Curcanul*, de Vasile Alecsandri: *Apoi în treacăt ne-ntreba/ De mergem la vreo nuntă?/ Noi răspundeam în hohot: – Ba,/ Zburăm la luptă cruntă!* [Et puis, en passant, on nous demandait/ Si on allait aux noces/ A nous de répondre aux éclats: Non/ Nous volons au combat terrible], à comparer avec les vers de Paul Alexa: *Mergeţi dragii mei la nuntă?/ – Ba noi nu mergem la nuntă/ Ce mergem la luptă cruntă* [Mes amis, vouz allez aux noces?/ Non pas, nous n'allons pas aux noces/ Nous allons au combat terrible].

[4] Mémorable reste le métaphore-devinette pour le samovare et le thé: *Frunzuliţă de mătasă/ Dumnezeu să vă ferească/ De vaca lor cea rusească/ Că mănâncă numai jar/ Şi dă laptele amar/ Păr nu are numai piele/ Şi dă lapte cât îi cere./ Dacă-i dai jar să mănânce/ Toată ziua o poţi mulge/ Dă laptele colorat/ Şi e foarte înfierbântat/ Numai-o ţâţă vaca are/ Dar laptele curge vale...* [Feuilette de soie/ Que Dieu vous protégé/ Contre leur vache russe/ Car elle ne mange que de la braise/ Et donne du lait amer/ Elle n'a aucun poil, seulement de la peau/ Et donne autant de lait qu'on lui demande./ Si on lui donne à manger de la braise/ On peut la traire toute la journée/ Elle donne du lait coloré/ Et bouillant aussi./ La vache n'a qu'une mamelle/ Mais le lait en coule abondamment...] (40b, v. 7–36).

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tristesse qui circulaient à cette époque-là en Transylvanie et dans les autres provinces roumaines, comme le démontre Constantin Brăiloiu dans son étude magistrale, *Poeziile soldatului Tomuţ din războiul 1914–1918* [Poésies du soldat Tomuţ pendant la guerre 1914–1918][5] .

Le deuxième niveau de ce texte, que je ne vais pas détailler ici, est constitué par les notes et les commentaires de l'éditeur, qu'il laisse aux *folcloriști hârșiți*, traduction proposée par la traductrice Teodora Dumitriu (qui, d'ailleurs, traduit excellemment) pour «folkloristes spécialistes» (p. 6–7), syntagme qui ne signifie pas vraiment la même chose que son équivalent roumain.

Cent ans après le début de la Grande Guerre, le soldat Paul Alexa de Breb, Maramureş, combattant dans la première conflagration qui a embrasé le monde entier, laisse un témoignage précieux, sincère, authentique et émotionnant sur les multiples facettes d'un phénomène qui allait se répéter, dans d'autres dimensions, plus de vingt ans après, car «l'histoire se répète si les gens ne peuvent pas comprendre ses leçons».

Nicolae CONSTANTINESCU

[5] Bucureşti: Societatea Compozitorilor Români. Publicaţiile Arhivei de Folklore XIII [Bucarest: Société des Compositeurs Roumains. Les Publications de l'Archive de Folklore XIII], 1944.

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éd., 2000, *Basme populare româneşti* [Contes populaires roumains], une anthologie, en collaboration, avec une étude introductive par Nicolae Constantinescu, 2010 (Prix "Perpessicius" du MNLR [Musée National de la Littérature Roumaine]), *Folclorul – cum poate fi înţeles* [Le Folklore – coment peut-on le comprendre], 2011); et en anglais: *Romanian Traditional Culture* [La culture traditionelle roumaine] (Turku, 1996), *Romanian Folk-Culture* [La culture populaire roumaine] (Bucharest, 1999).

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Merry Cemetery of Săpânța, the anthropological aspects of artistic practice, the history of popular and learned beliefs and ideas, etc. Alone or in collaboration with Ştefana Pop-Curşeu, he translated numerous books from French into Romanian (Jean Cuisenier, *Memoria Carpaților*, 2002; Patrick Deville, *Femeia perfectă*, 2002; Gustave Thibon, *Diagnostic*, 2004; L.-F. Céline, *Convorbiri cu Profesorul Y*, 2006; H. Michaux, *Viața în pliuri*, 2007; Philippe Forest, *Romanul, realul, şi alte eseuri*, 2008; William Cliff, *În Orient*, 2010), and from Romanian to French (Lucian Blaga, *Le Grand passage*, 2003; Ion Pop, *La Découverte de l'œil*, 2005).

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